# *Fasciculus Literarum:*

OR,

# LETTERS

ON

# Several Occasions

I. Betwixt Mr. *Baxter*, and the Author of the *Perswasive to Conformity*. Wherein many things are discussed, which are repeated in Mr. *Baxters* late Plea for the Nonconformists.

II. A Letter to an *Oxford* Friend, concerning the Indulgence *Anno* 167½.

III. A Letter from a Minister in the Country to a Minister in *London*.

IV. An Epistle written in *Latin* to the Triers before the Kings most happy Restauration.

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By JOHN HINCKLEY, D.D.
Rector of *Northfeild* in *Worcester-shire*.

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LONDON,
Printed for *Thomas Basset* at the *George* near St. *Dunstans* Church in *Fleet-street*.
M DC LXXX.

# THE PREFACE.

THe Sun has run its course nine times through the Zodiack, since these Papers passed betwixt Mr. Baxter and my self. He was pleased to be the Aggressor; and he also sounded the Retreat: far be it from me to invite and Re-assume such grinning trouble. I shall ever imbrace my own rest and quiet, in making a Golden Bridge for such an impetuous Adversary; laying hold on any generous overture, whereby I may both save my credit and my pains; that I may the better pursue (without distraction) my calmer and more profitable Studies. I had indeed given him some fraternal advice, in order to the peace of the Church. But his restless and distemper'd Stomach, turn'd this wholesome Dose into Foam and Choler. He made himself ready for War: And presently snatches up his angry Pen, made of a * Porcupines Quil, to gore me for my Charity. As if it had been provocation enough, to presume to see one inch farther than his

*Homo Histricosæ, & lividæ mentis. *Jerom.* P. 213.

*Eyes could reach; or once to suppose, that his daring Judgment; could any way flag or warp with errour and fallibility; so as to need advice and counsel. Hence it is, that his Strain is lofty and Magisterial. Had another let fall one drop of such corroding Vitriol, he must immediately have heard* that he dealt in proud wrath. *So that it is not the least thing observable in these Papers: we may divine of what spirit these Men are of; and with what Scorpions we had smarted, if Providence had not delivered us from such* Ægyptian, *tyrannical Task-masters. Herein indeed they are like to the Disciples of Christ, when their dark side was towards us,---- they are still aspiring to be greatest; and ready to call down Fire from Heaven upon those that stand in their way. I hope that I have not requited him with his scornful and slighting Rhetorick. Better to fall short in answering his Arguments, and remain in his debt, than pay him in his own Coin, and strive who shall be the proudest sinner. I have not so learn'd Christ — to revile when I am reviil'd: Such a Conquest deserves no Triumph. Nay, he that overcomes in this Amphitheater,* — Κείρων δὲ τὸ ὑπ]ερμένε, Philo Judæus; *is in a worse condition, than he that gets the mastery: He is the greater and more forlorn Captive. He deserves no other Garland than one made of Nettles and Hemlock. He merits little better, that makes a loud profession of Christ, seems to ingross Religion, and monopolize all Piety;*

*Piety; yet neither ſhews Meekneſs, Humility, Self-denial, Obedience, Love, or any other Chriſtian Grace in his Life: pretending more than ordinary kindneſs to the Husband; yet rending and mangling his Spouſe the Church into more parts than the Levite did his Concubine. With the Heretical Crow (ſo* Proſper *calls that ravenous Bird) they run out of the Ark, and will not return: they leave it deſolate; and their deluded Hearts feed upon Carkaſſes; thoſe Inventions that float upon the Surges of their own Brains: For never were Men more guilty of what they condemn in others. They declaim againſt Innovations, Superſtition, and Will-worſhip: And yet their own darling-diſcipline, with the whole Compages of their affected Devotions, (eſpecially as to the manner of them) is little elſe but a Cento and Miſcellany of the ſame. As ſingular, as their looks, garb and utterance. What poor Sacrifices are theſe to Atone a moſt wiſe and heart-ſearching God? to win upon, and ingage the Judgments of ſuch Men, as know that a reaſonable Service is required at their hands? The more united we are in Gods Worſhip, the more we throng and flock together to Gods Houſe, the more God will be glorified; we comforted and confirmed; and the greater awe and terror will be upon our Adverſaries. Theſe Men have, and do make St.* Auſtin's *Complaint to be juſtly ours, Epiſt.* 147. Husbands and Wives can agree together to lye in the ſame Bed:

Parents and Children, to live in the ſame Houſe: yet *Domum Dei non habent unam*, they cannot agree to go together to the ſame Place of Worſhip. *We may aſk with St.* Pauls *amazement*, Is Chriſt divided?

*A better account muſt be given of publiſhing theſe Papers, after they had ſo long been thrown aſide as waſt Papers; devoted either to Moths, or the Oven; eſpecially ſince Mr.* Baxter *in his laſt ſeemed unwilling they ſhould ſee the Light: And I did heartily comply with him. It was no ſmall joy, that he did ſuperſede his trouble of writing: I ſtill wiſh it may not only be a Truce, but a laſting Reſolution; for he is indefatigable in raiſing Clouds of polemick duſt; and makes Books faſter than I can read them. I do not ſay this in the words of the Father,* — Decolorare famam, — *to faſten any blot upon his Name; but to gratifie and applaud my own happineſs, in being delivered from ſo importunate and voluminous an Author.*

1. *Did I ſtand at his Elbow, I would whiſper to him,* — *That the Iſſues and Products of his Head would be more lively and maſculine; if his retentive faculty were more coſtive and vigorous: If he teem'd with the deliberation of the Elephant; rather than ſlip his burden before it come to maturity. Thoſe Animals that are moſt pregnant, have the moſt imperfect Births.*

2. *Had he taken as much pains to edifie and*

*ſave Souls; to teach Men Piety, Obedience, and Loyalty; to preſs Men to Unity, Peace, and mutual Love; as he has in making Parties; diſtracting and dividing Mens minds; and inflaming the Church and State with his Ætna-Granadoes and Eructations, his Name might have been imbalm'd with a fragrant ſavour in the Ages to come.*

3. *Since he hath told us almoſt in every Book he hath printed, for above twenty years paſt, how infirm he is in his bodily health; and that he is daily dropping into his Grave: If I durſt preſume to be his Counſellor, I would mind him of ſpending the remainder of his time in writing Books of Heavenly Devotions; that ſo, laying aſide the Sword, and taking up the Trowel, he may make ſome ſatisfaction to the Church for thoſe wounds and breaches, he hath either made, or kept open in her Bowels; And alſo Antidote the Souls, whom he hath poiſoned with his vexatious Divinity, before all the Sands of his Glaſs be run out, and he go hence to give up his Account before an All-ſeeing and Impartial Judge!*

*Though I had eſcaped thus out of his Talons, and there was a kind of ſtipulation betwixt us, to let down the Flood-gates, and ſhut the Gates of* Janus; *yet as if (to uſe his own words) he had pin'd me faſt to a Wall, where he might inflict the Correction of as many Stripes as he pleas'd, without either reſiſtance or repercuſſion from me; He tells the World in print,* — what Toys I

had written. *And in ſeveral other Books,* — *as alſo in the laſt I have ſeen, (for being immers'd in the Country, and overgrown with Arcadian Moſs, I converſe with few that are new)* he acquaints his Readers how unſatisfactory my endeavours have been; though he anſwers neither one Chapter, or Page, in the whole Book, that ſo much offends him: Let equal Judges blame me, if I have tranſgreſſed againſt his fourth Letter, or my Anſwer to the ſame: For he hath confuted his own Reaſons, and firſt brake the Condition of a Hypothetical Compact: Since he goes on to reproach our Mother, and all her dutiful Sons, is not this enough to force a dumb Child to ſpeak, — Semper ego Auditor tantum, nunquamne reponam? *I muſt do him right. He ſtrikes not through my Loins alone; but with the ſame Dart wounds my Betters. As if I ſhould have this allay in my fall,* —— *to have good company. It matters not what we ſay; for, as if we were meer Shrimps and Striplings to this* Goliah; *whiffling Currs to this Majeſtick Lyon,* —— *he holds on his way, without once ſtooping or looking aſide to any Reaſonings of ours: And (which is as great blemiſh to his Ingenuity) he gathers up the vomit and Venom of all the male-contents and Incendiaries that have peſtered the Church ſince the breaking forth of this Schiſm: He puts his Paint and Varniſh upon them; and then obtrudes theſe weather-beaten Superannuated Wares, for freſh Merchandiſe; as if they had*

*had never been blown upon before. He rallies those Troops which have been routed and baffled; and furbishes those Arguments which have been answered again, and again, by the Divines and Worthies of our Church: So that there will never be an end of these Disputes, if there be such a Circulation in the management of them. If they revive and rise again, as oft as they are overthrown and disarm'd; and with the* Hydra's *Head, grow as fast as they are cut off. No need of new Answers to such Books. But as Dr.* Whitby *did prudently transcribe an Answer to Mr.* Creicy's Exomologesis, *out of our own reformed Champions; so 'tis enough to confute and retund the force of such Rapsody's, in opposing what others have said already. Old Diseases must be rebuk'd and cur'd by old Remedies. I fear that those who re-inforce old Cavils, without taking notice what others have said to evade them, do either delight in wrangling, or which is worse,* —— with-hold the Truth in unrighteousness.

*As for the Book it self, I leave it to the Animadversions of those that are concern'd in an Answer, if it deserve any; yet I cannot forbear some few Strictures or Remarks.*

1. *As to the Circumstance of time, when it came forth; even then, when we were almost overwhelmed with fears from our common Enemies. He had pleaded before for a License and Dispensation: As if the printing such a Book*

*would*

*would be againſt Law and Conſcience. But when he perceived an* Interim, *the Laws were huſh'd and ſilent; Conſcience (with the Lord Chancellors Gown) was quickly thrown behind the door: And when we were weak and ſore, ready to fall a Prey to the* Roman *Fowler, he help'd forward our miſery, by laying his Loyns upon us too. So that if the King of* Babylon *be not ſtrong enough,* —— The People of the Land are ready to weaken the Hands of the People of *Juda. Ezra.* 4. 4. *He accorded with Mr.* Hobs, *as to the occaſion of the late War. Both of them agree to father the Brat upon ſome ſpeculative Diſputes and Differences concerning ſome Doctrinal Points; that they might the better undervalue the Univerſities, and diſgrace the Divines of thoſe Times. So he had rather promote the Intereſt of* Rome, *by ſhattering our Power, than miſs of his Will in ſeeing our ruine. I hope that God, who has been a Bulwork to his People; a Wall of Braſs, and a Wall of Fire about his Church, will ſtill infatuate the Counſels and Contrivances both of* Manaſſey *and* Ephraim, *and preſerve his own* Juda. *How can we depend upon their Kindneſs? that with the* Samaritans, *will carry it far in our Proſperity; but if* Antiochus *ſet upon us, will joyn their Forces with him, and diſown us in our extremity.*

2. *He does not onely magnify the power of the People (and this is ominous, at leaſt ſuſpicious) as if the Patronage of Churches and Biſhopricks were wholly in them—but he ſays too*— That neither Magiſtrates, nor Biſhops can ſilence Miniſters once ordain'd. *What intrenching is this upon the Kings Eccleſiaſtical power? as if it were leſs now, than it was once in the Kings of* Juda. *This ſeems to me not onely to be contrary to* Titus 1. 11. whoſe mouths muſt be ſtopped; *but to Mr.* Baxter *himſelf in his Book of Confirmation, pag.* 87. Miniſters caſt out by the Magiſtrate are bound to obey him; and to give place to others (if his error tend not to the deſtruction of the Church) *and* beſtow their labours in ſome other Country, *or* in ſome other kind at home. *His mind changes with the Moon; yet he is conſtant to his firſt Hypotheſis—his endeavour to pull down the Fabrick of our Church, which is ſo excellently built, that it is the wonder of all Lands. None can juſtly be offended at it, only ſeditious and factious Sectaries at home: Jeſuits abroad, and he that ſpawn'd them both; are vex'd, and gnaſh with their Teeth, to ſee her proſperity. But mauger all their attempts, If our ſins do not demoliſh the ſame; it will appear, to be rooted in Adamant, and built upon ſuch a Rock, that neither the winds, or tempeſts of thoſe men united together: nor the Floods and Waves from the Dragon himſelf, ſhall ever overturn, or drown*

it

*it, when we know not what to do; yet we will truſt on that God, whoſe outgoings are ſeen in the Mount.*

3. *How Tragically does he cry out, againſt the Tranſlation of ſome Texts, in the Epiſtles, Goſpels, and Pſalmes? as if they had never been obſerv'd before: whereas he might alſo have taken notice—that Mr.* Hooker, *Mr.* Nicholas Fuller, *and others, have given a ſatisfactory Account, how theſe places may be reconcil'd. He that had one dram of Candor, would have ſate quiet at the feet of the* Gamaliels, *without vexing the People, with ſuch needleſs ſcruples. If he have a mind to trouble himſelf, with more various Readings of Scripture; his Friend Mr.* Capell *will lead him a dance, thorow ſuch Meanders, that he will not eaſily extricate himſelf, out of them. What if Mr.* Baxter *had two Bibles? In the one* Job's *Wife ſaid* —Curſe God and dy. *In the other,* Bleſs God and die. *In the one*—Chriſt ſaid to the Figtree—no man eat Fruit of thee hereafter, for the time of Figgs was not yet. *In another* —for then was the time of Figgs. *Will he burn theſe Bibles? yet he would have the Liturgy utterly caſhier'd, and rejected; becauſe of ſome divers Tranſlations; which are not contradictory: for they are not* Secundum idem; *or in the ſame reſpect.*

4. *How does he ſtrain ſome things in the Act for uniformity, and alſo in the Liturgy;*

*until*

*until the very Blood follow? As if he were reſolv'd to ſtand with a flaming Sword in his hand: Either to keep ſome tender minded men, out of the Vineyard, and Paradiſe of our Church; I have too much cauſe to juſtify what I ſay: Or elſe to Affright, Puzzle, and Perplex, thoſe that have entred already; that they may drive more heavily: Proceed with Trepidation; and carry on the Lords work, with leſs expedition. Whereas ſome grains of Charity, in taking words and things in the beſt ſenſe they are capable of, (as every honeſt man ought to do) might have prevented and ſpoiled the greateſt part of his Book. When the Covenant was juſtly charged to be unlawful, from the very articulate ſound of the words; with what tenderneſs, and ſoftneſs was it ſens'd? What Salvo's were invented to Palliate the Ulcer? But in our caſe; how are words, and ſentences wreſted, and tenter'd beyond the* Grammar, *and intention of them? that ſnares may be ſpread upon* Miſpeh, *to keep men from going to the Houſe of the Lord; will the great God thank theſe Mormo-makers another day?* Quam ſapiens argumentatrix ſibi videtur ignorantia humana *in the words of* Tertullian. *How fond and wiſe do they ſeem to themſelves, that by a Carnal kind of ſubtilty doe affect to be accounted the diſputers of this World. I may well call ſuch wiſdome, carnal (how Angelical and Seraphick ſoever it appear) from the authority of the great Apoſtle,* 1 Cor. 3. 3.

whereas

whereas there are among you Envying, Strife, διχοστασιαι, ſidings, or making of Parties, and factions, are ye not Carnal? *will nothing ſatisfie ſome ſupercilious Humoriſts, but that the whole frame of our Church and Religion muſt be taken aſunder, Ravell'd, and Cancell'd, to pleaſe them? Why did they not Petition the King and Parliament, to erect a ſcruple Office? or a ſtanding Committee? that might aſſoil their growing doubts? And by ſome* Scolia *upon the Liturgy, and their own Arts, give the meaning of every Paragraph, and word in both? They are now ſo mudded by theſe mens ſtrugling, and trampleings; that like* Ariſtotles *Phyſicks —they are* Edita, & non Edita, *dark and Ænigmatical; until they are clear'd, by the Lamp of ſome ſupervening Commentary. That common ſenſe, which ſatisfies many thouſands of their Brethren; will not ſerve their nice, and ſqueamiſh ſtomachs. But as if there were ſome Snake lurking in the Graſs; and ſome inviſible knot in the Bulruſh; every leaf, every ſprig of Graſs muſt be turn'd, and ſhaken: every little feavouriſh doubt muſt be Excuſs'd. As if a new Targum, Miſna, or Paraphraſe, muſt be calculated on purpoſe, for the Meridian of their ſwimming heads; And none muſt do this, but the firſt Authors, and Legiſlators*—Magnus Revocetur ab orcis —Tullius. *If the noiſe of their Axes, and Hammers, were once abated; there might be hope, that the Temple of God would riſe: If*

Schiſm

*Schiſm* (*that battering Engine*) *were diſmounted; the Walls of Zion, would flouriſh, and mount towards Heaven. What could hinder* Nouriſhment to be Miniſtred to the Body of the Church, by Joynts and Bands? that ſo being knit together, it might encreaſe with the encreaſe of God. *Our peace would not only be* Φυγατευτήριον δαιμόνων *in the words of* Baſil *the great*— *A means to charm the Devil, that he ſhould not approach us, but our conſenting together* (*as* Ignatius) *would be* τῦ σατανᾶ ὀλεθρὸς, *the means to cruſh his very head, in fruſtrating his dividing deſigns, ſo we might alſo defeat his Inſtruments too, that wait for our fall:* Nam neque perire nos, neque ſalvi eſſe, niſi una Poſſumus; *as* Otho *in* Tacitus *ſaid to his Army. If we ſink, we ſhall ſink together: And if we arrive to a ſafe Haven; it will be whilſt we are united into one Body. Therefore if Mr.* Baxter *would either do good, or prevent miſchief, in his Generation*— *May he be* (*as* Nazianzen *ſaid of* Athanaſius) *An* Adamant, *and a* Loadſtone. *An Adamant to break the Conſpiracies of naughty men; and a Loadſtone*---*to draw together; and to cloſe the differences of diſſenters;* I am thy Servant *ſaid* David, *and* the Son of thy Hand-maid; *that is, as* Proſper *gloſſes thoſe words*—— *the Son of thy Church* ---*He adds alſo*---*He is not the Lords* Servant, *who is not* ſuch a Son: *A Son of Peace. For Chriſt is the* King of Salem; *the Prince of Peace*

*Peace; And* Hierusalem, *which is the Spouse of Christ, and the Mother of us all, signifies the Vision of Peace. But*

Invidiæ quondam stimulis incanduit atrox
Alecto, placidas latè cum cerneret urbes.

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Mr.

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Mr. *BAXTER'S*

# First Letter,

Directed thus.

To the AUTHOR of the

*Perſwaſive to Conformity.*

*SIR*,

THE vehemency and importunity of your Call for an Account to the World of the Reaſons of my Judgment and Practiſe, have ſufficiently made me willing of the Work; and put me upon craving your aſſiſtance in it, and to anſwer me theſe few Queſtions. 1. Whether you know of any one that will Licenſe it, if I ſhould write it? or can procure me ſo great a favour, and who it is? 2. Or whether you think it lawful to print it unlicenſed, contrary to the Law of the Land? 3. Whether you

think it lawful by my Reaſons, which you call for, to write that which the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Laws forbid, under the Name of *depraving* the *Liturgy*, and *oppugning* the *Church-Government*? 4. Whether you know how I may be kept out of Goale when I have done: (I hear you are now Miniſter of the Place, whence a Letter was ſent, which occaſioned my laſt impriſonment, where I am virtually ſtill, being adjudged to go to *New-gate*, when I am apprehended?) 5. Or if a Priſon, and (in probability) thereby Death, be that you deſire, whether you think it lawful to ſuffer ſo much and die, to ſatisfie your deſire, and do that Work? 6. Whether you know of any Printer and Bookſeller, who would Print and Publiſh ſuch a Book, and who they are? The *Savoy* Papers which you talk of, were written by the Warrant of the Kings Commiſſion, and publiſhed (ſome of them; for others were never publiſhed) by poor Scriveners that had the Copies, to get Money, (without my knowledge, and to our injury, in a Time when the Act againſt Printing was not made.) 7. Whether you think if I ſhould write ſuch a Book, that the Dioceſane Party would not be much more offended and angry, than if I had ſaid nothing? 8. Whether I ſhould be called ſo earneſtly to do that which will give ſo great offence againſt the New Conformity, when that which you men-

mention, which was done by Commiſſion againſt the Old Conformity, could never have an Anſwer? And is it not as eaſie with you to contemn another in ſtead of anſwering it, as that? I crave your Anſwer, eſpecially to the firſt Queſtions, becauſe your Importunity would force me into a hope, that at laſt I have met with the Man (though unknown) that will procure me the liberty of writing and publiſhing an Account of my Non-conformity: For Charity forbiddeth me, till conſtrained, to charge you with ſuch vile *Inhumanity* and *Impudency*, as publickly to call to a Man for that which you take both for *Sin* and *Impoſſibility*, and to reproach him for not printing, when you know the Preſs is ſhut up from him: and know, that it were like to be his death, or ruine; eſpecially when you appeal in defenſe of the Reaſonableneſs and Equity of your Demand, and when you are a Preacher of the Goſpel, and as much wiſer and better than the Non-conformiſts, as your Book importeth. Craving your Anſwer, I reſt, your greatly obliged Servant, if you procure what you ſeem to promiſe me,

*Ri. Baxter.*

*Aug.* 18. 1670.

# AN ANSWER TO Mr. *Baxter's* first Letter.

*SIR*,

I Receiv'd yours this Afternoon, directed to the Author of the *Perswasive*. I will not tell you, that shooting at Rovers, you have miss'd the Mark. Though I glory not in such kind of *Tactica*, but prefer any plain Sermon I preach before them. The main design of of that Essay, (I hope) was not only innocent, but commendable: To charm down fiery Spirits; not to raise them: And to call in your Charitable Assistance; not to provoke you. Therefore after such candid dealing, (especially with your self) I am not a little surpriz'd with these rough Passages, as —— *Desiring your Imprisonment*, —— *your Death*, —— *vile Inhumanity*, and *Impudency*, —— *Reproaching you*: —— *Accounting my self wiser, and*

*and better than the Non-conformists*; besides that Sacrasme, — *now you have met with a Man,* —— ποῖον ἔτ' φύζεν ἔρχ' ὀδόντων! I hope there is not so much Gall and Acrimony in that whole Book you stumble at. Sir, I beseech you, set a stricter Watch over your Spirit, that you offend not in your Tongue: Let not your *Saul*-like Parts elevate you so high, as to overlook others. I will assure you, I have no malignant thoughts towards your own Person, or any that are of your Judgment: Those that know me, will be my Compurgators.

I had, and still have a deeper sense of the gasping condition of our bleeding Church --- The struglings of her own Children within her Womb, I well knew, procur'd these Throws. If therefore, according to the sentiment of my Judgment; which I neither receiv'd from extraction, or education, but from deliberate and impartial study; I ventur'd on an Expedient to reconcile them, and antidote her utter Deliquium; I had thought I might have escaped the Gauntlet, and only have been pointed at by this Spit, —— *Magnis tamen excidit Ausis.* If I could discover by the narrowest scrutiny, that I was acted with any other Principles, than the Fear of God, and Honour of the King, I would both abhor my self, and abandon my Enterprize But till then, —— *Dii cœptis aspirate meis!* I little

look'd for this Complaint from you: for when Fame lately ſpread a Report, that you would return to your old Province, in theſe Parts, I did heartily rejoyce; not only in reſpect of the publick good, but that I ſhould be happy in ſuch a Neighbour: from whoſe Torch I might borrow Light, to illuminate thoſe dark and opacous Parts which are in my ſelf.

*Kidderminſter.*

Before I come to an Anſwer to your Queries, I muſt premiſe my hearty thanks, in that you have gratified me in one of my Requeſts, by the Retractation of your political Aphoriſms. The other, which you ſtick at, is as modeſt and as rational. As hereafter we muſt give an Account, to him that is ready to judge the Quick and the Dead: So what abſurdity was it, to deſire the Reaſons of your Judgment? ſince you are pleaſed to walk Antipodes to us. That you, who are πόλλων ἀντάξιος ἄλλων. might extricate us out of the Labyrinth of our Errors; if you can make them appear ſo. That ſo we may come over to you, and walk on the ſafeſt part of the Globe.

The Occaſion moving me to that boldneſs, was a ſtartling Aſſertion from a Friend of yours, —— That Conformity is in it ſelf ſimply and abſolutely ſinful. And was it not time to call in Aid? Let this appear, and then farewell Tythes.

Mr. *Baxter* affirm'd afterwards, that Conformity is an avow'd and deliberate ſin.

How

How ſhall I do ſuch wickedneſs, and ſin againſt God? I do not find you ſo peremptory; but rather to favour ſober, painful, and conſcionable Conformiſts: In which Claſſis I deſire to be found.

Healing Church Diviſions.

I had thought ſome Principles of yours, formerly laid down, had inclin'd you to us: Not to mention your Approbation of Dr. *Brians 6th* Sermon; and your late Book, wherein you affirm many Catholick Truths. Though (if I rearch your meaning) —— All things are not therein calculated to the pleaſing of the *Dioceſan Party*, as you call them. And the deluded Proſelytes in theſe Parts, are as much exaſperated with you, on the other hand, for your deſerting them: And as they apprehend, too much compliance. I am aſham'd to ſtain my Paper with what they do *eructare* in their Frenzy-fits. As double-minded Men are unſtable in all their ways: ſo thoſe are never fix'd, that ſteer their courſe according to the Notions of Mans Wiſdom. But to your Queries.

1, & 2. Q. *Whether I know any that will Licenſe ſuch a Book*, (as contains the Reaſons of Non-conformity.) *And whether it be lawful to print ſuch a Book?*

*A.* Theſe Queries are captious, and fallacious: Implying, that all Books *de facto* are licens'd. The contrary whereof, is by daily

experience evinc'd, in Books of the like Argument, and against the Royal Society it self. Nay, some of your own Books are not licens'd. And does your Conscience check you at this Instant only? These Pangs will not be permanent. Were I Chaplain to his Grace of *Canterbury*, or the Bishop of *London*, I could give you a more direct Answer to the former; and as for the latter, you are your own Casuist.

3. Q. *Whether it be lawful to write against the Laws of the Land?*

*A.* I am glad you are now so tender. *Ab initio non fuit sic.* Far be it from me, to advise you to be disobedient to the Laws. Better my desire should be frustrated, than you should commit the least sin. But see that your Obedience be *æquabilis*, commensurate to one Law, as well as another, and to the same Law at all times. There is a Relaxation (you well know) of the Law sometimes. And who knows, but Authority (if desir'd) may dispense with the Letter of the Law in such a Case? If you had been always so cautious, there had been no need to have complain'd in your next Query of your Imprisonment. But upon what Basis you should ground a Promise of security from me, I am utterly ignorant.

Q. 4, 5. *How you shall be kept out of Goal? Whether I desire your Death?*

*A.* May not this be done, with so much moderation and sobriety, that you need not incur the guilt, or penalty of Treason? May

May Mr. *Baxter* ( *per me licet* ) live as free as the Birds of the Air, and not be coop'd up in any Recluſe! Long! long may you live! to the Glory of God; the Peace and Wellfare of this Church. And may you bring forth more and more mature Fruit in your Age! I would not have you hazard the leaſt hair of your Head for my ſake. I had rather Screene (I mean) ſtand betwixt you and danger; than expoſe, or betray you to the leaſt uneaſineſs. The more unkindly do I reſent that bitter Reflection, —— As if *your Impriſonment came from my Pariſh.* I dare avouch, you have not one Enemy in it; except one *Will. Lees*; whoſe Horſes (he ſays) you took from him, with your own hands, in the time of the War: ὅλον τὸν ἵππον, he calls them. Now were I in your Caſe, I would not truſt an Act of Oblivion, here below, to bear me out before the great Tribunal above; without giving the Poor Man ſome equivalent ſatisfaction, whilſt he is in the way.

Q. 6. *Whether any will print, or ſell ſuch a Book?*

*A.* This is all one, as to enquire, whether Huxters, or Mercenary Men, will refuſe their Advantage? You have been ſo happy, as to inrich this kind of Men already.

Q. 7, 8. *How ſuch a Work will pleaſe the Dioceſan Party? and the New Conformiſts?*

*A.*

*A.* Οὐδὲ γ' ὁ Ζεὺς· Never was any Man so happy as to please all Parties: And I hope you do not study to be a Man-pleaser. We must discharge good Consciences towards God and Men. And then *Ruat Cœlum*! Let the Mountains fall into the midst of the Sea! *Nobismet ipsis plaudamus*! *nos liberavimus animas nostras.*

Now Sir, I have given you these Strictures, in obedience to your demands: Neither courting, nor deprecating your further trouble. Though I prefer the serenity of Peace before the most learned Dust. I desire to reciprocate no other Saw of Controversie with your self; than that of mutual Love and Honour. And herein I shall be loth to afford you the Spoils of a Victory. So far am I *from constraining you to use virulency*, which you threaten; that I had rather set a Lamb before an Elephant, and by a Spirit of Meekness, disarm your Menaces, than make a Schism and Rupture in our Fraternal Bond.

Sir! until I shall be so happpy as to see you, I shall continue your Faithful Servant, and Affectionate Brother,

*Jo. Hinckley.*

*Northfeild Aug.*
25. 1670.

Mr.

Mr. *BAXTER'S*

# Second Letter.

*SIR,*

WHen I had wrote an Anſwer to ſo much of your Book as concerned my ſelf, I caſt it by, perceiving that it contained a juſt detection and denomination of ſuch things, as none of my Reproachers hitherto have had patience to endure to be told of, who had not the patience or ſobriety to forbear committing them. For your Book confirm'd me in the Opinion which late experience of the World had brought me to, that it is one of Satans impudent deſigns, to make ſin paſs uncontroll'd in the World, and to render all that oppoſe it more criminal than them that commit it, to tempt Men to ſin in ſuch kinds and degrees, as that he ſhall ſeem an uncivil Railer that preſumeth to charge them with it. I purpoſed therefore to leave you in the Fruition of your ſelf-pleaſing-crimes, leſt the naming of them ſhould transfer the

the imputed Guilt from you to me. Therefore I only tryed you with a few gentle Queſtions, in order to the fuller underſtanding of your ſenſe. I anſwer to which, and in this ſecond alſo, you expreſs ſo great tenderneſs, and count your ſofteſt ſignification of a diſlike, to be Cenſures ſo harſh and paſſionate, as if you were injured, if your Crimes were not applauded: And withall take it ill, to be ſuppoſed impatient of hearing the Truth, and call for my Proofs in the very Lines which vehemently expreſs your impatience. Your two Letters ſo abound with words, which ſerve only to tell me your conceits and confidence, and what you would have us do, to be pleaſing to you, and ſo much paſs over all that it concern'd you in Reaſon and Juſtice to have ſpoke to, that it is with reluctancy that I trouble you with any Return. For what benefit can be expected by it? You importune me to break the Kings Laws by printing without Licence; and in the ſame Volume repreſent us as hainous breakers of his Law, for —— you know what. You can ſuppoſe me, without any proof, to have formerly printed without Licenſe; and when you thought I had ſin'd once, importune me to do it again: You can intimate to the World how unreaſonably I deal, if I write not and publiſh not that which you judge it a ſin to publiſh, as being forbidden, and ſo cunningly bring me under one of

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the imputations unavoidably, either of sinning by my unreasonable silence, or by breaking many Laws. You lay this Charge on me, before the World in print, and so importune me to that Act, which the Law of the Land will heavily punish; and yet wipe your mouth, and take it ill to be noted, as one that would draw me into suffering. And yet you want not words, when you can give no reasonable Answer concerning any of this. You cannot pretend, that such Laws, if I break them, will not be executed, when I lie almost these two years under penalty (adjudged to *Newgate* it self for six Months, by Sentence and Warrant) for a far smaller breach of the Law (which my best understanding perswadeth me is none at all.) You think the silencing of about 1800 Ministers, while many hundred thousand Souls are perishing through ignorance and ungodliness, to be a Load not heavy enough to the People and them, (to say nothing of the great indigence of many of their Families) unless it be increased by your wordy bitter Oratorical Reproach; when we would take it for rare clemency, if we might but have leave to preach Christs Gospel without a farthing of their maintenance, (yea, and to be confined to preach only on the Catechism Points, to some of the poorest ignorant Congregations, such as many in *Wales*, &c. as I offered, when I was silenced first; yea, and under sharp Penalties,

nalties, if ever we ſpeak againſt Biſhops, Liturgy, or Ceremonies;) yet after nine years ſilencing we muſt be ſcorned by you, as ſuch as *abjure their Calling, and make themſelves Milites emeritos*: When you know that God will not be ſerved by deliberate avowed ſin; and that he that ſo entereth on, and exerciſeth his Miniſtry, (and will ſin by Covenant, that he may preach againſt ſin) can ſcarce expect a Bleſſing, if a Pardon: And when you cannot but know, (for you dwell in *England*, and write againſt the Non-conformiſts) that the ſins which the Non-conformiſts fear they ſhould be guilty of, if they conformed, (not accuſing any others) are ſo *inhumane* and *hainous*, that we dare ſcarce name them, leſt you ſtartle, and think we charge them upon you, (whom we leave to your own Maſter.) Yet do you make a hainous matter of it, that we thus by fearing ſin our ſelves, do ſeem to think, that Conformity is any ſin at all, and ſay we weaken your Hands, prejudice your Miniſtry, and make the People cold in joyning with you: What then ſhould we do, if we publiſhed the Reaſons of our Non-conformity, and opened all that ſin which we fear, which yet you ſo vehemently call for? Yea you ſay, [*Who would unmuzzle a fierce Panther, that would worry him that ſet his Chops at liberty*] even then, when I ask you but to get me a Licenſe for that which you ſo openly call for: which is all one as to ſay,

[Do

[Do it if thou dare: and if thou do it not, thou abjureſt thy Calling, and refuſeſt to give the World a reaſon of it:] You can tell the World, that in my Book of *Reſt* I ſeem to go their way, that hold, (That they may fight againſt the King, if it were for the cauſe of Religion to purge the Church of Idolatry and Superſtition, and cite *P.* 123. (in which Edition of 12, I know not,) when I never wrote ſo, never thought ſo; but have proved the contrary at large in ſeveral Writings: Yet this is done deliberately in print. You fetch your Charge from the old Editions of that Book, eleven years after I had retracted, and expung'd, and left out of that ſame Book, not only that which you pervert, but all the reſt from end to end, which ſeemed in the leaſt to favour the late Wars. Either you knew this, or you did not. If you did, was that done like a peaceable Miniſter, to aggravate with ſuch groſs and odious untruth things retracted, and utterly expunged, even long before the Act of Oblivion; and that ſo as directly tendeth to the temporal ruine of him you charge them on? If you knew it not, did it beſeem you to meddle in Print, where you know no better what you do oppoſe? What good will *Auſtins* Retractations do him, if he ſhall ten or eleven years after be freſhly charged with all that he retracted, and much more? (yea, I gave Mr. *Hampden Pie* one of the Books of

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one of the latter Editions ſo altered, but a little before he came to your Houſe (to his utter undoing.) If you did not ſee it, you might have done, before you had written againſt it. Yea, (as not regarding your ſelf-contradiction) at the ſame time you call me to retract my Political Aphoriſms, and tell me how excellent a Work it would be, when I had done it before, and had ſo long before retracted what you aggravate: Though the one was done ſo lately, that you could ſcarce know of it, the other that was done eleven years before might have been known: And if ſo long time excuſe not the Book, or Author yet, from your bloody Charge, why do you deſire him to retract another? What good will retracting it do, if you will nevertheleſs ſo many years after make ſuch uſe of it, (from what Principles, and to what Ends I leave to you?) The Aphoriſms, which you would have retracted, you ſay, [*are thoſe eſpecially which are gathered by an Eminent Hand:*] Who can think but here you condemn all thoſe which that Eminent hand hath gathered? And the firſt of all is [*Governours are ſome limited, ſome* de facto *unlimited: The unlimited are Tyrants, and have no right to that unlimited Government.*] The next words are, [*For they are all Subjects themſelves, and under the Sovereignty and Laws of God.*] Becauſe it is your higheſt Preferments, as you ſay, to preach the Goſpel,

I be-

I beſeech you give me ſome ſuch light here as is neceſſary to a Retractation. If any Governours are not limited by God, tell me whether it be any ſin in them, if they make Laws, commanding Men to deny God, and blaſpheme him, to worſhip themſelves as Gods, as *Caligula* did, to worſhip *Mahomet* or Idols, to kill all the Innocent People of the Land? (I talk not of the abſolute Power of all Mens Eſtates and Lives.) Nay, whether there be any thing imaginable which they may not command? or whether it be poſſible for that Man at all to ſin, that is not limited by God? And tell me if this be the Doctrine which you count it your chief preferment to preach? And whether you can think that any wiſe Governours in the World will take thoſe for friendly Promoters of their Intereſt, who would ſo calumniate them, as to make their Subjects believe, that they lay any ſuch claim? You can gather, that I approve of Mens terms of Miniſtration, becauſe I joyn with the Church which they teach. As if no more were required of a Curate, than of a Communicant. And as if the ſame Reaſons which warrant my Worſhip as a private Man, would warrant all my Subſcriptions, Declarations, Oaths, and all the reſt of Miniſterial Conformity. You can blame me for not *Actively ſubmitting to the Laws*, when you can name no Law which commandeth me what you mean.

You can *Magiſterially* ſay [ *Not that looſe paralitick Diſcourſe given to the Kings Commiſſioners at the* Savoy, *written rather Rhetorically*, ad Captandum Populum, *to inſinuate into vulgar Capacities, than Logically to evince the Hypotheſis contended for, ſtrip'd of its multifarious Fallacies, ungrounded Surmiſes, and erroneous Suppoſitions*, &c. ] 1. As if you knew what was given in at the *Savoy*, when a conſiderable part of the Papers were never publiſhed: Yea I have reaſon enough to believe, that no Man living can give an account of them to you but my ſelf; becauſe no Copies were taken, and ſome Papers *only read.* 2. There are many Papers printed which were given in upon that occaſion; and who knows by this Character which of them it is that is called the *Looſe paralitick Diſcourſe*? 3. You talk of a Hypotheſis contended for, as if you had a mind to be thought to ſay ſomewhat, though you underſtand not about what: For no Hypotheſis is named by you, and no wonder. If you mean the firſt, ſecond or third Paper given in at the beginning of the Buſineſs to the Lord Chancellor, the Hypotheſis was, that *union is deſirable*; the means whereto we offered as we were commanded. If you mean *our exceptions againſt the Liturgy*, the Hypotheſis was, that the Liturgy was corrigible, *and to be altered in ſome things.* And do you oppoſe that Hypotheſis which the King had expreſly

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put into the words of his Commiſſion, ſo far as to appoint Men to alter it? and which the Convocation by their actual alterations owned? If you mean our *Reply to the Anſwer of the Exceptions*, the Hypotheſis general is the ſame. And what made all thoſe Learned Perſons who wanted neither *Time* nor *Will*, forbear ever to give an Anſwer to that Reply, if it were ſo looſe and contemptible as you make it? Was it becauſe contempt was fitter than a Confutation? that could not be; becauſe ſmaller matters not written by Men commiſſioned by the King for ſuch a Treaty, nor offered by their own importunity, have found ſome of them at leiſure for a more particular Conſideration. If it be *our Liturgy offered them* that you mean, the Hypotheſis there is, *That thoſe forms there offered were fit to be taken into conſideration, as the* Addenda *mentioned in the Commiſſion.* If this be falſe, what can you imagine to be the reaſon that we could by no importunity ever procure any by word or writing to open to us the faults of that Liturgy; and that *L'Eſtrange* himſelf had no more to ſay againſt it? Though being drawn up in eight days only, we deſired we might have had leiſure to have made it more perfect, (which might eaſily be done.) If it be the *Petition for Peace* that you mean, the Hypotheſis was, That *our Concord was ſo deſirable, as that they ſhould make the abatements there mentioned to attain it*; but eſpecially, *ra-*

*ther than ſilence ſo many Miniſters, and chooſe the other ill Conſequents that would follow.* If this be it you mean, and you are ambitious of acquainting your Rulers, that you will ſtand at Gods Judgment as an approver of —— all that —— enjoy the pleaſure and fruit of your deſire. If the ſilence of ſo many hundred Miniſters, and the Conſequents to ſo many thouſand ignorant Souls, be a Bleſſing to be rejoyced in, put not your Sickle into other Mens *Harveſt*, but let the Labourer, who is worthy, have the hire. If it be otherwiſe, what need any Man ſay, *Their —— be on us, and on our Children?* 4. And when you talk of *Vulgar Capacities*, do you not reproach the Reverend Biſhops as *Vulgar Capacities*, in print? To whom were they given, but to them? And I never heard of any that they ſhewed them to. If you ſay, That *they were printed afterward*, I anſwer, 1. Some were, and ſome were not. 2. How could we then foretel that, when we gave them in? 3. They were done, as far as I can learn, by a poor reading Curate, that gave the Printer Copies through meer poverty to get a little Money, without our knowledge. For he was the Scribe that we were forced to uſe for Copies, and I hear he kept ſome for himſelf. 4. I ſent to the Kings Secretary, Sir *W. Morrice*, when I heard they were in the Preſs, to deſire him to ſearch the Preſs, and apprehend them. 5. The printing of them by offending

ſending our Antagoniſts, and by the intollerable falſeneſs of the impreſſion, was a very great injury to us. Moreover you dare publiſh to the World, [*Had Men kept cloſe to the Church of* England, *they needed not have ſtumbled at ſwearing, That it is not lawful to take up Arms againſt the King. I muſt tell the whole Chorus of my diſſenting Brethren, that this very Fly is enough to ſpoil the Box of pretended Oyntment: who can chooſe but nauſeate that way of Diſcipline, which ſtartles at renouncing War againſt the King?*] Do you think you were able to bear it patiently, if I ſhould tell you how much of the Diabolical Spirit is in theſe Lines, and how unfit ſuch a Spirit is for the Sacred Miniſtry? 1. You know that it is a time in which our Rulers are juſtly exaſperated for the horrid Murder of the King, and for the Treaſons and Rebellions that have been committed: And you know, that no deſign could more gratifie the Prince of Darkneſs, than to bring the Odium of all this upon the Miniſtry, or upon any part of the Miniſtry whoſe labours are needful to the Church. 2. I ſuppoſe you know, that it is not one of a Multitude of the Non-conformable Miniſters that ever took up Arms againſt the King. I ſuppoſe in all *Worceſter-ſhire* there is not now two, for I remember not one, (though there are ſome Conformiſts that were in Arms againſt him.) 3. I ſuppoſe you cannot be ignorant (becauſe you

dwell in *England*) that they were Epiſcopal Parliaments that were long quarreling with the King, and that ſtill cried out of the danger of *Popery*, *Arminianiſm*, *Monopolies*, &c. of which *Ruſhworths* Collections ſufficiently inform you: And that Dr. *Heylin*, in the Life of Arch biſhop *Laud*, hath fully acquainted the World, that it was one Party of Epiſcopal Men, (of whom he would make Arch-biſhop *Abbot* the head) that contended againſt the other, and put in the difference about the Subjects Propriety into the Quarrel; and that beſides, *Neile*, *Laud*, *Buckridge*, *Howſon*, *Corbet*, and *Mountague*, the Biſhops went all the other way: So that by *Andrew*'s advice it was thought unſafe to let a Convocation meddle in their Cauſe. 4. I ſuppoſe you cannot eaſily be ignorant, that the War in *England* againſt the King was begun by an Epiſcopal Parliament; where (as ſome of the Members aver to me) there was but one known Presbyterian in both Houſes, and three or four Independants, and two or three Sectaries, and about four hundred Epiſcopal Men and Eraſtians: And alſo by an Epiſcopal Army, for ſuch was the Earl of *Eſſex*, and almoſt all his Chief Officers; and by almoſt all Epiſcopal Lord-Lieutenants, who were firſt put into poſſeſſion of the Militia againſt the Kings Commiſſioners of Array: In ſo much that even the Propoſitions ſent to the King at *Nottingham* were but for

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the Regulation of Epiſcopacy, and not the Extirpation: And among all the *Weſtminſter* Aſſembly there were not called ten Non-conformiſts (nor I think eight.) Nor indeed was Presbytery then well known in *England*, till the notice of it came in long after with the *Scots* and Covenant. So that it is paſt doubt with any but the deſperately impudent, that it was Epiſcopal Men in *England* on both ſides that raiſed War againſt each other; though one Party of them afterward fell in with the Presbyterians of *Scotland*, and the Sectaries, for fear of wanting help, and of being overthrown. 5. You cannot but know that it is not *the whole Chorus of your diſſenting* Brethren, that *ſcrupled ſwearing, that it is not lawful to take up Arms againſt the King.* That twenty in *London* took the whole *Oxford* Oath at once, and more after: That the chief Nonconformable Miniſters took it in *Northamptonſhire*, *Somerſet-ſhire*, *Devon-ſhire*, and ſome other Places: That many Non-conformiſts were againſt the War; as Mr. *Geery*, Mr. *Capel*, and almoſt all the *Glouceſter-ſhire* Miniſters, and many others. Poor Mr. *Martin* of *Weedon*, lately in Goal near you for preaching in private, loſt an Arm in the Kings Service in his *Oxford* Army; when the only Arch-biſhop left in *England* (*Williams*) was a General in *Wales* in the Parliaments Army. 6. You have

not given the World any Proof of any Preſbyterian Miniſter in *England*, (much leſs the whole Chorus) that ever ſcrupled ſwearing what you mention. I ſhould know their minds as well as you, and I know *not one*, that I remember, that is not ready to ſwear, that [*It is not lawful to take up Arms againſt the King.*] I ſay again, I know not one. And ſhall a *Levite* ſtand up and intimate, (though it be not ſo ſpoken out) To *the King*, and to *Papiſts*, and to *Poſterity*, that it is the whole Chorus of Diſſenters about Diſcipline? Put out your other Clauſes, and let us have no more Oaths of Allegiance or Fidelity to Dioceſanes or Lay-Chancellors put upon us, than were impoſed on Chriſts Churches for 600 or 800 years, and then try who will refuſe to ſwear a Renunciation of War againſt the King. 7. But I admire how you came to ſuch an obduratenes, as to talk of *nauſeating* [*that way of Diſcipline, which ſtartles at renouncing War againſt the King.*] Is it Epiſcopal Diſcipline that you mean? If not, what way of Diſcipline is it that ſtartles at it, unleſs you mean *Military Diſcipline?* Read over the Confeſſions of the *French*, *Belgick*, and all other Presbyterian Churches, and ſee whether there be any thing in their Diſcipline that ſtartles at it. What if it had been the Presbyterians, and not the Epiſcopal, that in *England* raiſed the War? Doth it follow that their *way of Diſci-*

*Diſcipline* was for it: Name us that Form of Diſcipline, and tell us where to find it, which you mean that is guilty of what you charge on it. Doth he that ſaith [*Every Church ſhould have a Biſhop, and not only a thouſand or* 600 *in a Dioceſs*] hereby ſay [*we may not renounce War againſt the King?*] Do not ſo wrong God as to think him ſo unjuſt, as always to ſuffer ſuch as you thus to abuſe the Innocent. 8. And you that talk ſo malepertly of the *Savoy* Papers, it's like know, that it was not *Presbytery*, nor any other *than Arch-Biſhop* Uſher's *Form of Epiſcopacy in terminis*, in his own printed Paper, which we offered the King and Biſhops as the Medium of our Concord in 1660. And when that would not be received, ſee in the Kings Declaration about Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, whether it was not the down-right Prelacy that was ſubmitted to, with only the additions of ſome Paſtoral Power in a Rural Deanery: And I never heard Presbytery pleaded for by Word, or ſaw it by Writing in all that Treaty, but only *Uſhers Epiſcopacy*. Why then do you talk of the *Diſcipline of the Chorus*, unleſs you mean *the Epiſcopal Diſcipline*. And do you not know, (that write about the Cauſe) that the War was not founded in *Theological Differences*, but in *Law Differences?* and that it was *Statesmen and Lawyers* that made the difference by their Political and Law-Controverſies? Not

but

but that Divines on both ſides were too guilty, if not the forwardeſt. But my dull Brains could never find out any one Point of difference in Theology, about the Power of Kings, and the Duty of Obedience in the People between the Divines called Presbyterians and Epiſcopal: If you know any, name them me, and tell me your Proof; I know that they medled too much with the Political and Law-Controverſies of Lawyers and Stateſ-men, (for there lay the difference) as I did my ſelf in my *Pol. Aphor.* of which I unfeignedly repent, (though I thought then, that *Oceana* forced me to do it.) 10. It's not probable, that ſo Learned a Man is ignorant what Biſhop *Jewel*, Biſhop *Bilſon*, Biſhop *Andrews in Tortura Torti*, and many more ſuch have ſaid, to prove, that *Calvin*, and the Presbyterians, and the *Engliſh* Puritans, differ not in theſe things from the Theology of the Church of *England*, taking the ſame Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, *&c.* And how come you to be wiſer than they, and to prove the *Diſcipline* Intereſt in the diſagreement? And when you have taught the Papiſts to ſay that *Andrews*, &c. ſpake falſly, how will you prove it? I know that there were many Sectaries, and ſome individual Perſons of the Epiſcopal and Presbyterian Judgment, that erred in Law and Politicks, and perhaps in Theologicals too. But what's that to a difference between the Parties in their

Reli-

Religious Principles? 11. For can you be ignorant that it is the grand Champions for Prelacy that have written for the Principles of the Long Parliament, by which they pleaded for their War? Do you not know, (to paſs by Biſhop *Jewel*) what Biſhop *Bilſon* of Subjection hath ſaid, and what *Rich. Hooker* in his *Eccleſ. Pol. L.* 1. *&.* 8. hath ſaid higher than thoſe Parliament Soldiers that I was moſt acquainted with? I have now written a Book, (Licenſed) which containeth a Defence of Monarchy againſt *R. Hookers* Popular Errors. Why then do you not call the *Epiſcopal Party* to repentance? or why do you inſinuate ſuch ſuſpitions into Mens Minds, that the *Diſcipline is it that ſtartles at renouncing War againſt the King*? You know, I ſuppoſe, what *Grotius de Jure Belli*, alſo hath ſaid in his Enumeration, (out of *Barclay*) of Caſes in which it is lawful to take Arms againſt Kings: Even that *Grotius* who was the Maſter of the late Game, and boaſteth of the approbation of the *Engliſh* Prelates. Was Arch-biſhop *Abbot* a Presbyterian, (who ſaith he was ſuſpended for refuſing to Licenſe Dr. *Sybthorpes* Book; ſee his Narrative in *Ruſhworth*?) Did he and all the Clergy, and Parliaments, that went his way, forſake the Church of *England*? Who then were the Church? Yet you can add [*P.* 125. *And ſince the Lines of our Peace and Happineſs, as to Church and State, do meet and concenter*

*in*

*in him, as our common Father, is it unreaſonable for Subjects to ſwear they will not endeavour the alteration of Government in the Church and State? who would think, that any Natives of a Land, profeſſing themſelves the Followers of Chriſt, —— and expecting protection from a lawful Prince, ſhould once demur, whether they ſhould make this Declaration, or take this Oath?*] (O eaſie happy Swearer!) *Qui deliberant deſciverunt: Such as doubt of this, have even ſhak'd off the Yoke of Subjection,* (unhappy Doubters!) 1. Here [*They will not endeavour the alteration of Government*] is put in ſtead of [*will not at any time endeavour any alteration of Government.*] [2. *In Church and State*] is put inſtead of [*in Church or State.*] 3. Not one Man of my acquaintance of them you queſtion, refuſeth to ſwear, that he will never endeavour any alteration of the Church Government, as it is in the King according to the Oath of Supremacy. 4. They that offered Biſhop *Ushers Form of Epiſcopacy*, are not for altering *Epiſcopacy as ſuch.* 5. The Oath of the Canons 1640. put [*we will not conſent*] in ſtead of endeavour. And a Parliament condemned that Oath; and no Parliament ſince thought meet to juſtifie or reſtore it. 6. We know that Lay-Chancellors exerciſe the Power of the Keys, by decreeing Excommunications and Abſolutions: And we believe, that exerciſing the Power of the Keys ſo, is Church-Go-

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vernment. And we are all agreed, that yet *no reforming alteration is to be attempted by Sedition, Rebellion, or unlawful means*; but only by *Subjects petitioning, Parliament-mens ſpeaking*, &c. And if you think to come to Heaven by ſwearing, that we may *not petition* againſt *Lay-Chancellors uſe of the Keys*, cannot you go quietly your own way, and let others alone that truſt not to ſuch means? 7. We believe, that *Ignatius* his Epiſcopacy (*every Churches unity being known by one Altar and one Biſhop with his Presbyters and Deacons*) is as lawful at leaſt as one Biſhop only to a thouſand or 500 Churches: And I believe, that it is in the Power of the King and Parliament to reduce our Epiſcopacy to that ancient Form: And if they do it, I will not ſwear to diſobey them, if they command my Service under them: I was once commiſſioned among others under the Broad Seal to endeavour ſuch an alteration of the Liturgy, *&c.* And before what was done about Epiſcopacy, the Kings Declaration about Eccleſiaſtical Affairs ſheweth; and I will not ſwear to diſobey the King, if he command me the like again; nor I will not *ſwear univerſally*, and *mean particularly*, till the Law-givers ſo expound themſelves. 8. I know by what Oaths the *Roman* Clergy got their Supremacy, and maſtered Kings and Emperors. 9. I know that till *Roman* Tyranny invaded the Church, the Clergy was

not

not put to ſwear to the Biſhops. 10. I love but one King in a Kingdom, nor any thing that is injurious to him; and I am willing to ſwear Allegiance to my lawful King, as I have done, and to take his Office as a Conſtitutive part of the Kingdom.

But not to twiſt any other with him by Oaths into the Conſtitution, nor any thing that looks like it, eſpecially not to ſwear to the *Church-Governours* before the *Kings State-Government.* And now what is the connexion of your Premiſes and Concluſion? [ The King is the Center of our Happineſs, *&c. ergo,* none that are Natives and Chriſtians, and expect protection, ſhould once demur whether he may ſwear to Dioceſanes and Lay-Chancellors, yea not to endeavour any alteration of their Government by Petition, or if the King command them; *ergo,* they that doubt of this, have even ſhaken off the Yoke of Subjection; *ergo,* they all deſerve, not only to be forbidden preaching Chriſt, but to be hanged, (as all do, no doubt, that have ſhak'd off the Yoke of Subjection;) *ergo,* not only the Non-conformiſts, but the Conformiſts, that ſwear doubtingly, ſhould be all hanged. Thus differ the Prieſt and the Levite, that paſs by the bleeding Church, from us wretched *Samaritanes. Turba gravis paci, placidæq;* &c. As to the Popiſh malicious Slanders long ſince by them vented againſt *Geneva,* &c. *Beza,* the *Scottiſh* and

and *Engliſh* Encouragers of *Bothwell*, which you intimate on the by, the firſt are long ago refuted by King *James*, Biſhop *Jewel*, Biſhop *Bilſon*, &c. And lately by Dr. *Pet. Moulin Junior*, in his Anſwer to *Philanax Anglicus*, where he will let you know, that *Geneva*, *Holland*, &c. ſhook off their Governours while they were Papiſts, before they turned Proteſtants. And of the later learn more truth from *Buchanans* Hiſtory of the Queen of *Scots*, and of *Bothwells* Murder of the King. I am weary of following your Treatiſe ſo far, I will add but a little more as to your Letters: In the firſt Letter theſe words aſtoniſh me, [*I hope there is not ſo much Gall and Acrimony in the whole Book.*] Wonderful, that any Man ſhould ſo little perceive what he ſaith and doth, and be ſo blinded by Self-love! as to think he ſpeaketh Oyl and Sugar, when he ſpeaketh Fire and Swords. You ſay you find me not ſo peremptory as to hold Conformity ſimply and abſolutely ſinful: I pray you, could you judge ſo hardly of me, as to think that I left my Miniſterial Labours, to which I was vowed, to eſcape but that which I account *no ſin*? You ſay, [Some of my own Books have not an *Imprimatur*] why would you ſay ſo, before you knew it? I know of none of them that want it, that were then printed ſince the Law required it; though the *Imprimatur* be not printed in them. But ſince you have ſo

urged me to print without Licenſe, I cannot ſay that the laſt Book (the Defence of my Cure) is licenſed, nor that it is not; but if it come without, you have taught it the way. You ſo far credit your Neighbour *Lee's* Report, as to give me the advice for reſtitution of his Horſes. Charity is not ſo eaſie of belief. Why did he never make ſuch a demand of me while I lived there in ſixteen years ſpace. This is like Dr. *Boremans* printing, that [it is ſaid I killed a Man in cold Blood with my own Hand; but if that be not true, I am not the firſt that have been ſlandered.] Very true: Whereas I know not that ever I ſtruck one Man in anger (except Boys at School) in my life, nor did I ever kill or wound any Man in War or Peace. Nor did I ever take any Mans Horſes with my own Hand; nor was I ever, to my knowledge, in *Northfield* or *Kings-norton* Pariſh; nor ever with any that were employed about taking up Horſes in the War, to my knowledge, but once; which was, when the Kings Soldiers had taken up about a thouſand in *Warwick-ſhire*, and 500 in *Northampton-ſhire*, the Earl of *Eſſex* gave a Commiſſion to Colonel *Mitton* and others to take up ſome three hundred in the Kings Quarters in *Worceſter-ſhire*: And about twenty Men went three or four times about it; of which times I went once with them to ſee that they committed no abuſe by taking from ſuch as they

were

were not warranted to do; and they brought away about twenty or leſs, and ſome were reſtored, and I touch'd not one of them, nor was their Guide; and I never heard that they that went the two other times (which was towards *Northfield*, where and when I had nothing to do with them, nor knew what they did) took about thirty more, which I heard were many of them reſtored; and if your Neighbour had come to me, and given me any probability that he had loſt by me injuriouſly, it's like I had repayed it; but his ſlander obligeth me not to reſtitution: I will ſay no more about your Rule, with relation to all that were preſent on either ſide when any were wronged in that War. Your acquaintance with the Huxters that ſo readily print and ſell unlicenſed Books, is no direction to me that know them not: A few Sheets many will venture on; but I know not them that will venture on a large Book, leſt they be undone by the ſurprizing of it. In your Letter you could find a Categorical Affirmation, that τυφωθεὶς is a Verb; whereas you may ſee in the Errata of another Book then at the Preſs, (becauſe that Book had no Errata printed) that [*Verb*] was miſprinted for [*Word.*] And if I know not a Verb from a Participle, yet that little concerneth our Caſe in hand: And though my own opinion be, that the Parts of Speech ſhould be reduced to three, &c. I will not

trouble you with my Gramatical ignorance any further than to tell you, that I am contented that you take liberty to judge it as great as you pleaſe; but that Man ſhould be more temperate in cenſuring the Errors of the Preſs, Scribe, and Author, who citeth Dr. *Manton* (then in Priſon) upon *Jude*, who never wrote on *Jude*, but only on *James*; and that citeth Dr. *John Burges* of Regeneration, who never wrote of ſuch a Subject; it's like the Subject drew you to think, that he that wrote ſo much for the Ceremonies (though once a Non-conformiſt) was like to be the Author of ſuch a Book, which indeed Dr. *Cornelius Burges* wrote, when he was a great Conformiſt, who was afterward Aſſeſſor in the *Weſtminſter* Aſſembly, and (though a Proteſtor for moderate Epiſcopacy) wrote that Book for the neceſſity of Reformation, which ſo much offended the Epiſcopal Party. In your laſt you liken me to the *Papiſts that take liberty more than enough*, when you cannot name one Book ſince the Act, before your importunity, that I took more liberty in, than was given me, that I remember. And you in the ſame Paragraph invite me to *comply with your ſober requeſt*, and to *direct it to the Common-wealth of the* Engliſh *Clergy*; and yet talk againſt *unmuzzeling the mouth of the Panther*, as aforeſaid; but

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theſe no doubt you can reconcile better than I. As for my nonſenſe in putting *Librum pro Authore*, it is ſuch as I am not ſeldom guilty of, as I am alſo of putting the Author for the Book. As to your particular Exceptions. 1. Speaking ſlightly of Conformity, Do you expect that a Man that by not conforming loſeth more than you have yet gotten by conforming, and that alſo loſeth his Miniſterial Liberty, more deſirable than all the Biſhopricks in *England*, ſhould commend the Conformity which he ſo avoideth. As for Mr. *Dod's* words, I am glad that you ſay [ *Doth God ſtand in need of our Lie*, (O! no, nor of our *Perjury* neither) *ſhould we ſpeak wickedly for God, or talk deceitfully for him?* ] (No, I think we ſhould not; nor deliberately covenant, or do any wicked thing on pretence of ſecuring the liberty of preaching againſt the ſin of other Men.) But yet it is my opinion, that we may thank God for the effects that are brought to paſs by Mens miſ-doings; (though not for the ſin it ſelf) even for the death of Jeſus Chriſt; which was all that Mr. *Dod* could mean. 2. If you had but ſeen the Collections of Inſtances given in by ſome body at the *Savoy* Treaty to the reforming part of the Commiſſioners of *Defects and Diſorders* or *Immethodicalneſs* in the Liturgy, you would

not wonder that I now take it not for *Perfect*. Eſpecially when you compare it with the Liturgy which we offered them, and ſee there what difference we made, can you forbear a *Cenſure of ours*, (which hath hitherto ſtrangely ſcaped their Cenſures who rejected it) and yet marvel not that we take not *yours* for perfect? As for your likening me to *the Jews that hire Chriſtian Servants to dreſs their meat.* (There is but one cometh ſometime to my Houſe, and he will eat no meat there on any days but of his own dreſſing.) Remember that you ſaid even now, *God needeth not our Lie or deceitful wickedneſs*, that we may have leave to preach or pray. 3. As to your third Exception: 1. When you have got me liberty to write my Reaſons, I will tell you more of my opinion about Dioceſanes, if you cannot underſtand it by my Diſputes of Church-Government long ago printed; which if you have read, do you ſtill expect that I ſhould approve of Dioceſanes? or marvel that I think better of the *Waldenſes Bohemian* Epiſcopacy, and that which obtained in *Ignatius*, yea in *Cyprians* days? But what thought you of when you call me to *obey old Eſtabliſhments, and not invent new ones, and ſet the People on gadding after Innovations*? Did you really think that our Eſtabliſhment was elder than the

days

days of the *Apoſtles* or *Ignatius?* and that theirs were *Innovations* to ours? And that Arch-Biſhop *Uſher reduced Epiſcopacy* to *Novelty*, when he pretended to *reduce it to the ancient Form*? Doth not Dr. *Hammond* maintain, that there were no Biſhops in Scripture times that had more than one Congregation, and that *de facto* there was then no ſuch things as diſtinct *Subject-Presbyters*? Is 1650 years ago the time of *Novelties* to us, and our *eſtabliſhment* the true Antiquity? Well! let it be ſo.—— 2. But you untruly report me to ſay, that we *muſt not communicate with a Pariſh-Miniſter, who concurreth with the Biſhops*, P. 77. If you had added [*In conſenting to our ſilencing*;] For I only ſaid, that I made that none of our Queſtion: The reaſon was, becauſe my work lay another way, and it would have hindered the edification of thoſe I wrote for, to have pleaded that Cauſe with them: But do I deny all that cometh not into our Queſtion? To deal openly with you, I fore-knew long ago what would ſtick moſt againſt our Concord, when I labour-ed in vain to have prevented it; and now the thing which I fore-ſaw is come: When I perſwade the People to Communion in the Pariſh Churches, they ſay [ſhall we have Communion with thoſe that have ſilenced ſo many hundred ſuch Miniſters, and ſet up ſuch and ſuch in

their ſtead?] And here I may as well drive them through a Stone Wall, as drive them on directly in that way. If you can do it, why have not you done it? I am ſure I cannot: They will ſooner renounce Communion with *me*, than hold Communion with thoſe that they think have been the chief Promoters of all this, that are of the Clergy. And if I did not challenge them to prove if they can, that ever ſuch and ſuch Pariſh Miniſters were *the Silencers*, I could get them to hold Communion with none of them all: If you will have your work done your own way, on your own terms, do it; I cannot ſo do it, for I am not of your judgment. And now, Sir, I am not ſo unacquainted with what I do, as to tell you I have given you a lenifying Anſwer, or to expect that this ſhould pleaſe you, who accounted a few gentle Queſtions ſo ſharp: If my buſineſs had been to win your good opinion and report of me, I would have ſpoken you fairer. But though *veritas odium parit*, I am naturally addicted to ſpeak plain truth, (without any ill will to you or any) though I foreſee that impatient guilt will call it railing, and what not. If none deal plainly with offending Preachers, how much worſe is their condition than the Peoples? But had it been for publick view, and not for your own private admonition, I ſhould have uſed a ſofter Stile on

ſeveral

ſeveral accounts: As I take none of your plainneſs with me amiſs, ſo far as it containeth truth; ſo the imitation of it ought not to ſeem injurious to you: Nothing hath more moved me to it, than to find by your Letter how greatly averſe you are to Repentance; in the promoting whereof I ſhould gladly be

Your Servant,

*Ri. Baxter.*

*April* 28. 1671.

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# AN ANSWER TO Mr. *Baxter's* second Letter.

*SIR,*

YOurs of *April* 28. came to me *May* 19. It may be it visited some Friends by the way, which retarded its passage: And though my Head and Heart were then filled with better Meditations; I mean, against the Lords day approaching, yet I could not but give you my sentiments of some Passages therein. Though I shall not requite you, much less be aveng'd of you for your length and sharpness. A full Anatomy of such a Carcass may prove offensive.

It is natural (I perceive) to you to drench your self in the Waters of *Mara*; and to sport in the Salt Sea of Sarcasmes and Satyrs: —— *Magnus ab Infernis, revocetur Tullius umbris,* —— *non potes absolvi.* It is a small thing with

with you to tell me of *Crimes and Guilt: That I comply with Satans deſigns: That I have a Diabolical Spirit, unfit for the Sacred Miniſtry: I talk malepertly: A Levite ſtarted up: That I write againſt the Non-conformiſts*: When I only court and beg their aſſiſtance, in doing no worſe than my ſelf, that they would not ſtand ſtill idle in the Market-place; *whilſt ſo many hundred thouſand Souls* (as you ſay) *are periſhing through ignorance and ungodlineſs.* That I traduce *the Presbyterians*, though I never named them (I think) ἐυτῶς, in any Writing or Sermon of mine. As if *I would have ſin go uncontrolled*; and *that I look on them as uncivil*, that *preſume to acquaint us with it.* Whereas I have procured your indignation, only by a ſubmiſſive and mannerly Requeſt, that you would give us the Reaſons of your Non-conformity, that we might ſee where the ſin lies. But you ſay, *You will leave us in our ſelf-pleaſing Crimes.* Then I muſt ſay, you are but a treacherous Watch-man, to ſuffer ſin upon your Brother, contrary to *Levit.* 19. 17. If you will not help us out of the Ditch into which we are fall'n. It is one of Gods greateſt Judgments, when he does not reprove, chide, afflict: See *Hoſea* 4. 14. Are you one then that account *it your duty to deal plainly with offending Preachers*, (though you will not own the Name of a Dioceſan Biſhop, yet you fanſie your ſelf ſitting in his Chair) and

yet *you will leave them in their self-pleasing Crimes? Let the Righteous smite me; it shall be a kindness: Let him reprove me; it shall be an excellent Oyl, which shall not break my head,* Psal. 141. 5. This dealing of yours will do little *towards promoting my Repentance*: It may exercise my patience. I will herein write after the Copies of St. *Austin*, *Melancton*, *Calvin*, &c. who in their greatest heats and provocations retain'd their calmness, sweetness, and serenity of Spirit towards those that did bitterly oppose them. Παῖε· ἐγ' εὑρήσεις ὅτω σκληρὸν ξύλον, ᾧ κὰ ἀπείρξεις· as *Diogenes* told *Antisthenes* in *Laertius*. *Michael* the Arch-Angel, and my grand Master, have trodden this Path before me.

Sir, you reckon *up* 1800 *Ministers that are silenc'd*. Though I utterly dislike the term, *Silenc'd*; for to me 'tis apparent they are silent actively, and through their own fault, until it appear to the contrary; and then the sin is yet more hainous, by how much it is the more voluntary. But if you are a true Accountant; if this be not a false Muster, and you mistaken in your Arithmetick: How many of these have little more learning than your *English* Books have taught them? As great Strangers to the Writers of the first Centuries, as they have been to the Universities. How many of these were nested in other Mens Habitations; whilst the right owners were exposed to wind, weather,

ther, and ſtarving; double the number of 1800. This Retalliation may cauſe them to ſay: *As I have done, ſo God hath requited me.* Judges 1. 7. yet I have ſome ground to think, the number is not ſo great, ſince I hear that many come in, and more remove into more remote Parts and conform there. If it be true that Dr. *Counaught* has re-aſſum'd his Miniſtry; I think his Example (whoſe Piety and Learning is ſo conſiderable) may be very attractive. However, 'tis no ſtrange thing, ἐπισυλλέγειν ἀνυποτάκτους. Methinks that Men who are *ſo willing to preach in* Wales, *and the pooreſt Congregations, without a farthing, upon Catechetical Points; neither medling with Biſhops, Liturgy, or Ceremonies,* (as you ſay) ſhould be willing to take things (in order thereunto) in their moſt favourable and candid ſenſe. Give me leave to give you two Cautions. 1. Take heed how you undertake for any conſiderable part of thoſe 1800. that they ſhall preach on thoſe terms: For then you tranſ-element them; their Tongues do not only itch, but their very Nods and Whiſpers tend that way. 2. Take heed you do not impede ſo good a Work, by maintaining *Conformity to be an avowed and deliberate ſin; abſolutely and ſimply ſo: A ſin, as it were, by Covenant: So that a Bleſſing is not to be expected on their Miniſtry; ſo inhumane and hainous, you dare ſcarcely name it. What will we ſay, if you ſhould lay open*

*the ſin of Conformity in your Reaſons*? Such a Lyon in the way is enough to affright many. Such a Flaming Sword may keep Labourers out of the Vineyard; out of the Paradiſe of the Church. I have ſadder apprehenſions yet. As the Papiſts do unchurch us, and by conſequence damn us; ſo you are like to arrive to the ſame uncharitableneſs: For if we live and die *in avowed and deliberate ſin*, what Wages are we like inevitably to receive? You infer from my words, or rather drag from them, by an odd Climax of *Ergo's*, that there are ſome Perſons deſerve hanging: But I can, with more eaſe, and better Logick, gather from what you ſay, that we muſt be damned.

I am glad you own my Quotation out of your Book of *Reſt*: At firſt you made me afraid, when you ſaid, — *You never wrote, or thought of any ſuch Paſſage.* Yet this is but like the jumping of a Deer after a Mortal Shot; or the playing and ſprunting of a Fiſh, when it is ſtrucken with an Hook: You make me amends afterward by ſaying, *you have retracted and expunged it in your later Editions.* And truly, I do much rejoyce at your reiterated Ingenuity in this kind: For as it is ſaid, The beſt thing is *not to be born*; the next, *cito mori*: So a Palinodia is next to the publiſhing of ſound Truths. But though this *Retractation* was *before the Act of Oblivion*, (as you ſay) yet I fear the War was done, and

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execution over. If you be ſo raſh in obtruding your immature Notions upon the World, before you have lick'd them, and ſtrain'd out their Crudities, and ill Humours in the Preſs firſt, by ſeveral Editions, you will diſcourage Men from buying your Books, when they firſt come forth.

This Overture has given you occaſion, —— *Renovare dolorem*, by minding me of the ſaddeſt Tragedy of my whole Life. *The utter undoing of Mr.* H. P. though you well know he was undone before: I could lament this in Tears of Blood; yet as my Conſcience does not upbraid me of negligence herein, ſo that good Lady (I hope) will do me the Juſtice, that I gave her notice of what I fear'd and ſuſpected a fortnight before the Cataſtrophe. And if there was ſuch a fatality in it; that after I had beſeech'd her Ladiſhip, that I might convey him to ſome Houſe of his Fathers; and this not being yielded unto, but I was intreated to keep him longer; I could not preſerve the Walls of my Houſe from being broken in the night time; this is, this muſt be for a lamentation.

I preſume you had not pour'd this Vinegar into my Wound, had I not been your Remembrancer, about your taking the Horſes of *Will. Lees.* And though you deny the Fact, both he and his Wife offer to ſwear it. They ſay, they followed you to *Coventry*, and obtain'd

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an Order from the Committees there to have the Horses restor'd; but you refused to obey it. Nay, they followed you to *London*, and and at Mr. *Foley's* House came to your Bed-Chamber. If their Relation be false, or your Memory fail, I cannot help it: Many and many a time they desir'd me to write unto you for some satisfaction towards maintaining them in their poor decrepit Age. You confess *you came into the Kings Quarters in those Parts to take Horses*; *ergo*, Retract again: For in your late Book, you say, you medled not with the War, until after *Naseby* Fight; yet you pray'd and preach'd to the *Coventry* Garrison: Could you forbear to besprinkle your Prayers and Sermons with some of those Principles which after carried you into the Field?

Although I moved you to retract your Political Aphorisms; yet 'twas only such as were erroneous, and dangerous to our Peace. That which you mention, *about an unlimited Power in Princes*, or *universal Obedience in Subjects*; *even to turn Mahumitans, if they command*; I do as much abhor in the *Leviathan*, as I did dislike those Rotations and fond Principles of Government in the *Oceana*; *ergo*, you might have sav'd the labour of your Dilemma. *Austin* did not retract all that ever he wrote. How does it follow? *I account it my chiefest preferment to preach the Gospel*; *ergo*, you ask me, *whether this Gospel which I preach be the unlimi-*

*unlimited Power of Princes?* Sure you think I live not in *England*, but in *Turkey*; or elſe that I am an errand Stranger to the Nature and Latitude of that Embaſſage, which is committed to my truſt. Well! *Injoy your own pleaſing Conceit*! You will be a Gnoſtick, do what I can. This is not very ſtrange: For you conclude, that ſince Arch-biſhop *Abbot refus'd to Licenſe Dr.* Sybthorpes *Book*, *I muſt ſuppoſe him to be a Presbyterian.* And becauſe, I ſay, the King is the Center of our Happineſs; *ergo*, I muſt ſay, *None muſt demur to ſwear to Dioceſans, or Lay-Chancellors; and that thoſe that petition for an alteration of their Government, if the King command, muſt not preach.* The Conſequent is not here queſtion'd, but the Conſequence; and your Metaphyſical Head will hardly find Enthymems enough to make it good.

Since you ſo often tell me in your Letter of the *Presbyterians*, as if you were their great Patron, and would ſet them againſt me; though (under that Name I never diſturb'd them) to gratifie your importunity, take my naked Thoughts. Many of them (I think) are good, ſober, religious Men; eſpecially ſuch as are deluded and ſeduc'd into that Sect; Errours: but if they be *Gerrones*, Men devoted to a Party, and addicted to a diſtinct Government, from that under which we live; accounting themſelves oblig'd to the endeavouring

ing the pulling down Episcopacy established by Law, and to set up Presbyterian Government in the Church, against the consent of the Supreme Magistrate: I think such a Presbyterian, *quatenus* such, in the Kingdom of *England*, (as things now stand) is neither a good Man, nor a good Subject; but is rather factious, seditious, schismatical.

As for your large Narrative, concerning the *Savoy* Transactions; wherein you inform my nescience, or negative Ignorance, (for I was not bound to know every Secret of that Assembly) I thank you for it. I only took notice of what was reveal'd to the World in Print. And I heartily wish, the Result thereof had been the same with that of *Hampton-Court*. But I perceive, the older the World grows, the more stiff and inflexible Men are in their own Notions and Opinions. Your non-compliance then seems to me as pernicious, as *Beza's* heat at the Colloquy at *Poissy*: I had almost said, as the abrupt breaking up of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. I wish some such Men (as Dr. *John Reynolds*) had been the Commissioners, who might have suppl'd and oyl'd your Wheels; and so have allayed the starkeness of your Joynts. I will pray for you still in the words of *Optatus*. *Utinam, qui jam malam viam intraverant, agnito peccato, super se reverterentur, & revocarent, quam fugarent. Pacem.* Is not the *Roman* Eagle ready to

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prey and quarry upon us all? And ſhall we ſcatter our ſelves into Parties, and crumble and divide our ſelves into ſmall Gobbets? as if we would facilitate our own Captivity, and fit our ſelves for her Talons.

You are at much expence of pains to clear the Non-conformiſts of the guilt of the late War. *A very few of a Multitude were ingaged in it.* You lay this Brat at the doors of *Bilſon*, *Abbot*, *Hooker*: *Of an Epiſcopal Parliament*; *not above one Presbyterian among four hundred Parliament Men*: *An Epiſcopal Army*, *Epiſcopal Lords*, *and Epiſcopal Lieutenants of Counties*. I had thought (*currente Rota*) whilſt your hand was in, you would have ſaid, that the Regicides had been Epiſcopal too.

Sir, I do now perceive, that *Cataline* was a Fool: If he had laid the Conſpiracy againſt *Rome*, upon *Tully*, might not he have gone free? But I foreſee alſo, that in proceſs of time it is like to fall out with the late unnatural War, as it did with the Gunpowder-Treaſon. *Cecil*, and the Puritanes, were accuſed for this by the Papiſts: And the other (though acted but yeſterday, and by whom, is too freſh in our Memories) is like to be father'd on Epiſcopal Men: Or elſe, like *Filius Populi*, it will be hard to find the true Father; or like *Nilus*, the true Original. Give me leave to uſe the words of a good Author. *Primo accuſant Rei, ut crimina, in ſilentium mitterent*

*ſua; vitam infamare conati ſunt alienam, ut cum poſſint ab innocentibus argui, innocentes arguere ſtuduerunt. Ahab* told *Elijah*, *Thou art he that troubleth* Iſrael, 1 *Kings* 18. 17. If Epiſcopal Men began, and carried on that War, and Presbyterians were free; I had almoſt ſaid, —— *Sit anima mea cum Presbyterianis*! For I hate nothing more than Rebellion. But ſure you were too credulous, and eaſie to be deceiv'd by your Informer; were they Epiſcopal Men that cry'd, *To your Tents O* Iſrael? That preach'd —— *Curſe ye Meroz?* firſt voted, and then fought againſt the King? If they were, they were degenerous from the *Engliſh* Epiſcopacy. They did not *keep cloſe to our Church*, (which were my words) *to our Articles*, *our Canons*, *our Liturgy*, and *our Homilies*. If they were Epiſcopal Men, they had found out ſome new model'd Epiſcopacy. I will (in this) neither own them for my Fathers, nor my Brethren. They were Monſters ſure; for would Epiſcopal Men conſpire to root up Epiſcopacy?

The *only Arch-biſhop in* England, (ſay you) *Williams*, *was in Arms againſt the King*; *pudet hæc*. But if he was the *only Arch-biſhop in* England, more ſhame for ſome who had remov'd a better out of this World. The beſt uſe we can make of his miſcarriage, is to take heed of pride and diſcontent; leſt God ſhould give us over to the Lyas of our own Hearts, and ſo

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we ſhould alſo fall into the condemnation of the Devil.

What you ſay *of Arch-biſhop* Abbot, *out of Dr.* Heylins *Life of Arch-biſhop* Laud; *as if he began the Quarrel about the Subjects property:* Do but read the Drs. laſt Book concerning the Hiſtory of Presbytery; and then you may ſee who have been the beſt Subjects to Princes, Biſhops or Presbyterians.

As for *Biſhop* Jewel *and Biſhop* Andrews *Defence of* Calvin, *and our Puritans*; do not wreſt their Charity, as the Romaniſts do ours, when we ſay they may be ſaved. I much fear, leſt the Complexion of thoſe Men be much altered, ſince the days of thoſe famous Prelates: So that could they ſtart out of their Graves, and ſee how their Claws are grown, what havock they have made in this Church; they would (like the *Partus Saguntinus*) for very grief and ſhame, retire into their former Dormitories: Or were they to write more Polemicks, they would ſcarce write Apologies for ſome amongſt our ſelves: So unlike are they to ſuch as Mr. *Ball*, who wrote ſo nervouſly for ſtinted Liturgies, and Communion with our Church.

Mr. *Hooker* (you ſay) *is under your exagitation.* I pray uſe him kindly; trample not on a dead Lyon: For were he alive, he would make many ſuch as you are to quake. So ſtrong would you find his Breath, in his deep,

cloſe, and ſtrenuous Arguments: As thoſe that diſputed with *Stephen*, were not able to reſiſt the Wiſdom, and the Spirit by which he ſpake, *Acts* 6. 10. I have read him over again and again; yet I never obſerv'd him to be an Enemy to Monarchy. *You can find out*, (if not new Worlds) yet *new Inhabitants in the upper part of this*, in the *Stars and Planets*; and if you can look beyond *Galileo's* Glaſs, it may be, with your *Lynceus* Eyes, and ſtrange Teleſcope, you may make ſtrange Diſcoveries.

Though I honour the Memory of Learned *Grotius*; yet 'tis not a Duty incumbent on me to defend his *ipſe dixit*. I have a Tract by me, wherein are collected ſome Political Aphoriſms out of him and others, (which I have not examin'd by his Writings;) but if truly his, I do as little approve them, as I do yours.

You would have me *read the Confeſſion of the* French *Church*, *and of others*, *and ſee whether they allow of taking up of Arms.* Sir! this is not to do: I have alſo read *Davila* concerning their practiſe: And if he be impartial, I cannot boaſt. *The unlawfulneſs of the Arms of the* French *Proteſtants in ſeveral Riſings cannot be denied.* Du Moulin P. 28. And how it was with the Diſciplinarians in *Scotland*, I have learned ſufficiently in *Spotſwood*: Neither can you be ignorant, what

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the Grand Maſter of the Diſcipline aſcribes to *Engliſh* Parliaments againſt Kings, if you read his fourth Book of Inſtitutions. What need we ſpeak of *Mens Confeſſions* and *Declarations*? Have not we ſeen their Actions quite contrary? Until the *Scottiſh* Presbyterian Covenant be utterly renounced and forgotten, it will ſtand upon Record, what is to be expected from thoſe of the *Diſcipline.** All the Foam you can gather in your angry Fits, will never obliterate this, or waſh ſuch a Blackmoor white. *When you challenge me to ſhew from the Confeſſions of any Presbyterian Churches, that they allow the taking up of Arms againſt Princes*, you deal juſt as the Papiſts do, when we urge them with that odious Doctrine from *Mariana*, and others of their Jeſuits; and alſo with their practiſe in this caſe, they ſay as you do: Shew us any Decree of the Church; ſhew us any Canons of Counſels, wherein the Doctrine of Killing Kings is allowed. What ſhall we ſay? I can find no ſuch Canon in the Counſel of *Trent*: I know no ſuch Edict of the Church: Nay, the Counſel of *Conſtance* condemneth the Doctrine of killing Tyrants, as erroneous; yet indirectly and obliquely they do maintain the ſame, by giving the Pope a Power to ex-

* If you have not time to read *Sions Plea. T. C. his Reply. Travers de Diſciplinâ Eccleſiæ. Martin Junior. Bancroft*, &c. You may ſee their ſenſe in this Point Collected to your Hands, by Sir *Tho. Aſton* in his Survey of Presbytery.

excommunicate Heretical Princes, and to absolve their Subjects from their Allegiance. And as *Bellarmine* says; though the Pope does not teach Men to disobey their Kings, yet he makes them, who were their Kings, to be their Kings no more. So, though this Doctrine be not expressed in the Confessions of *Disciplinarians*; yet if it be suitable to their practise, and follows *a posteriori* from their Covenant, and other Principles, by a parity of Reason, it is enough to prove them guilty.

However the War was managed; yet *the Divines (whether Presbyterian or Episcopal) medled little with it. If I know any, you bid me name them. Your dull Brains could never find out any Point of difference in Theology, about the Power of the King, or the Duty of Obedience in the People.*

This is strange, *you liv'd in* England, as you often tell me: And were you such a Stranger in our *Israel*, that you heard nothing of the clashing of Pens, as well as the brandishing of Swords? *Was the Controversie only betwixt Lawyers and Statesmen?* I have much ado to forbear an allusion to the words of *Job* to his Wife. *Thou speakest as one of the foolish Women speaketh.* So you speak of these things, like some rude and ignorant People in the Country. Did you never hear of Dr. *Ferne*? Mr. *Dudley Diggs*, and many others, who

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wrote in behalf of the King, againſt the lawfulneſs of taking up of Arms? And did you never hear of Mr. *John Goodwin*? Mr, *Bridges*? Mr. *Calamy*'s Speech in the City of *London*? What was the great deſign of moſt Sermons preach'd at *Weſtminſter* for ſome years by the Smectimnians, but to tell their Auditors, that the Ingagement of that War was *pro aris*, as well as *focis*; for the Cauſe of God and of Chriſt; againſt Idolatry and Superſtition, as well as for the Priviledges of Parliaments; and againſt *Monopolies*. The *King and Martyr ſuffer'd for his Religion*, ſays your *Du Moulin P.* 110. Did you never hear what pains Mr. *Vines* and Mr. *Marſhal* took, to prove, that the higher Powers, *Rom.* 13. were to be underſtood of the two Houſes of Parliament?* The *Scottiſh Douglas* ſays plainly; *The Hoſtility againſt the King, was from his ſetting himſelf againſt Religion.* I do not ſo much wonder at this your inadvertency; ſince you affirm, *That Dr.* Manton *never wrote upon* Jude, *but only upon* James. Will not the Doctor take it amiſs, that you take no more notice of his Labours? And as for Dr. *Burges*, it is now in the Hand of a Friend. Are you ſuch a walking Library? Such an *Helno Librorum*, eſpecially of thoſe

* If I ſhould tell you what Doctrine I heard preached at the beginning of the War, (I was Maſter of Arts then) and by whom; if I did not make your Ears to tingle, I ſhould blur and ſtain more Paper, than I am willing.

that are Modern and *English*: And yet had you no acquaintance with these?

You *say*, and *you ingeminate it*, —— *That there is not any Non-Conformist but is ready to swear, he holds it not lawful to take up Arms against the King.* Why did so many of them then flit their Habitations, five Miles from any Corporation, or their own ancient Homes? What was the Sum of that Oath? was it not plainly and directly against taking up Arms? Did it any way *hinder Parliament Mens speaking? or others peaceable petitioning*, for such Reformation as is necessary? were not those who were commission'd to administer it, ready to declare the sense of it? yet down it would not go with many; *latet aliquid*: —— But I find it is with many of you, as I have found it experimentally with some who have been troubled in Conscience: When I have apply'd the best Balm I could to these tender Souls, so that they had nothing to say against their own Peace; yet still they would be starting some black doubts against themselves; turning their very Shadows into Gorgons; that so they might continue in the Valley of *Baca*. Just so will you find knots in Bulrushes; Mysteries in Cabbalistical Titles; and Anexes; spin Webs to intangle your selves, out of your own Imaginations; and with Thrushes, pinion your own Wings; that so you may scrupulously vex your selves. You say well

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in your Book of Conſcience, —— That Melancholy is often miſtaken for Conſcience: So I fear this ſhieneſs and skittiſhneſs of theſe Men, is rather the reſult of an hot and feavouriſh Brain, than any well-weighed concluſion of a ſound Heart.

But *put out the other Clauſes out of the Oath; let us have no more Oaths of Allegiance to Dioceſans, or Lay-Chancellors, put upon us, than Chriſts Churches had for ſix or eight hundred years impoſed upon them.*

Why do you lay this Injunction upon *me*, and *others* in my Sphere? Are we the King and Parliament? Have private Men a Legiſlative Power? Can they *reverſe* and *retrench* Laws? It is very plauſible in you to bring all things to the Inſtitutions of Chriſt; and in things doctrinal 'tis alſo neceſſary: But as to what concerns all the Modes of External Policy and Adminiſtrations, it is not only difficult, but impoſſible. Nay, I think he may be impleaded of Schiſm and Singularity, that ſtands up too ſtifly for the immediate Diſpenſations (eſpecially where they are ſo uncertain) in oppoſition to the Inſtrumental teachings and directions of Men. You may find my Ground, 1 *Cor.* 1. 12.

It ſeems you are much troubled *at Lay-Chancellors*; as *if they hindered your Conformity, by exerciſing the Power of the Keys, in decreeing Excommunications and Abſolutions.*

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Me thinks a Perſon of your ingenuity ſhould reſt ſatisfied with that modeſt declaration of our Rubrick, concerning the Cenſures of the Church in the Preface to the Communion. But ſince you ſay, *That Lay-Chancellors exerciſe the Power of the Keys in Excommunications*; do they do this of themſelves, as Lay-men? or do they not? You ſee, 'tis eaſie to puſh with your Horns, and to evince, that you are either ignorant or abſurd. But I ſhall only remember you, what you cannot but know already, —— That Lay-Chancellors, (though commonly very knowing in the Civil Law, which is an excellent Hand-maid to Divinity) yet they excommunicate not as Lay-men, but by vertue of thoſe Surrogates, who are delegated for this purpoſe, originally by the Biſhop himſelf. This Abſtraction is not too hard for you to conceive. But why are you ſo incens'd againſt Lay-Chancellors? I'le warrant you have more kindneſs for Lay-Elders, if they were joyn'd with you in things Sacred; as Catechiſing, admiſſion to the Sacrament, and the Cenſures of the Church.

But as *Luther* diſtinguiſhes of little and great Devils; ſo I think this of *Lay-Chancellors* is but a Gnat in your way. The Camel or *Belzebub* is *Dioceſan Biſhops*. *The Epiſcopacy of Biſhop* Uſher *you are for*; and *the Epiſcopacy of* Ignatius *(you ſay) is lawful.* I am glad you grant this; for one of your Brethren maintain-

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ed to my Face, —— That there is no difference betwixt a Biſhop and a Presbyter in *Ignatius*. But you are kinder to Biſhops; for where there is one, I ſuppoſe you wiſh there were many hundreds: And if this were allowable, we that are *minorum gentium* (as to our own Intereſt) have no *cauſe* to *oppoſe* it: For then, it may be, you and I might in ſome time of our Ages commence Biſhops. But me thinks we ſhould now agree; eſpecially if you would call to mind that Maxim in Logick. *Magis & minus non variant ſpeciem.*

If *Biſhop Uſher* were now alive, he would give you but ſmall thanks for preſſing *his Model of Epiſcopacy* (if his,) now the King and Laws are reſtor'd, which he only calculated, as that which could be born by the iniquity of the latter times. Sequeſtered Miniſters, who would gladly then have received a fifth part out of their Revenue, would be loth now to be bound up to the ſame terms. The Counſel Biſhop *Uſher* gave to the late King; Rather to part with his Life, than Epiſcopacy: And his Notes upon *Ignatius*, concerning the diviſion of *Aſia*, confuting Dr. *Meric Cauſabon*, affirming, that Epiſcopacy crept into the Church in the ſecond Century, do ſufficiently diſcover his Judgment. If Thieves ſhould ſtrip me of all my Cloths, I I will rather accept from them my old Coat, than go naked; yet if the time come, that

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honest Men may come to their Goods, I would have all again to a very Shoo-string. Let us not take up the old trick and method of the Papists; they have given out, that some famous Men, who liv'd Protestants, dyed Papists: So let not us extract Presbyterian Government out of the dead Trunks of Episcopal Cedars.

*Calvin* seems to excuse his New Government at *Geneva*. —— *Habemus qualecunq; Presbyterorum Judicium, & formam qualem ferebat temporum infirmitas.* What? is there any Sorcery or Necromancy in the word *Diocesan?* As *Tertullian* once jested; —— *De nomine Chameleontis.* Διοίκησις is a modest word in Greek; and is it become Babylonish by being rendred into *English.*

*Beza* was more propitious than you are to the Diocesan Bishops of *England.* —— *Fruatur* (says he) *istâ singulari Dei beneficio, quæ utinam sit illi perpetua!* But you think they have too many Parishes under their Inspection and Jurisdiction. This is but obliquely to reflect upon former Kings and Statesmen, who have allowed such large Provinces. Some of them have been much canton'd in latter Ages, if we look into our own Stories. What think you of *Crete*, (Ἑκατόμπολις) *Ephesus*, *Rome*? were there not many Parishes in these? And I cannot think, but as *Jerusalem* had her Daughters the Cities and Towns adjacent. So many

many *Regiones ſuburbicariæ*, did belong to the Biſhops of thoſe great Cities; *ergo*, they had their *Chorepiſcopi* to aſſiſt them. Tell me true, were there not Biſhops before there wery any Pariſhes? If ſo; Chriſt never ordained they ſhould be Parochial. Do not you know that the Biſhop of *Alexandria* had all *Ægypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis*, under him? And that *Thebais* and *Mareotis* were afterward added to his Dioceſs. But *you will be guided* (you ſay) *by* Cyprian *and* Ignatius. Well! Agreed; yet theſe were *Dioceſans: Cyprians Dioceſs* was *Africa*; over great part of which his Power did extend. *Ignatius* was Biſhop of *Syria*, *Cœloſyria*, and *Meſopotamia*. If you doubt of this, I can ſhew my Authority.

But *why ſhould we ſwear Allegiance to Biſhops? Till the* Roman *Tyranny invaded the Church the Clergy was not to ſwear to the Biſhops. This is to twiſt them into the Conſtitution of the Kingdom*, ſay you.

Is it unlawful to promiſe or ſwear to be obedient to Biſhops, *in rebus licitis & honeſtis*? Yet this is the ſum of our Canonical Obedience. By your leave, Sir, *de facto*, Presbyters have been obedient to their Biſhops, under the Penalty of an Anathema, and Excommunication, *long before the* Roman *Tyranny invaded the Church*. I could tell you of the Apoſtles Canons and Decrees of Councils for this.

But

But since you have such a kindness for *Ignatius*, see his Epistle to the *Ephesians*. —— Ὑμῖν πρέπει συντρέχειν τῇ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου γνώμῃ. And to the *Magnesians*. —— Ὥσπερ ὁ κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ποιεῖ, ὅτω ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου. And in his Epistle to the *Philadelphians*. —— Ὅσοι Καίσαρός εἰσιν, οἵδε μετὰ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου εἰσιν. Is not this Canononical Obedience?

But this *intrenches upon the King, and twists Bishops into the Constitutive part of the Kingdom*: I am glad you are so tender of the Kings Honour and Power. Mr. *Cartwright* wrangled himself at last into Conformity: And if you have arriv'd to a just Latitude of Allegiance, in giving unto *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsars*, I think you have shot the Gulph, and may at last, —— *per tot discrimina rerum*, —— *tendere in Latium*. I will secure you, —— that *what we swear to Bishops, does not twist them with a Coordinate Power with the King*, no more than when I swore fidelity to the University at my Matriculation: When a Soldier takes a Sacrament to be true to his General; and Tradesmen do the like to their several Corporations: I say, no more do we set up an Æmulous confronting Power with the King in subscribing to Bishops, which he does not only allow, but authorize; than I made the University, or they, their Generals, or Corporations to have —— *divisum cum Jove Imperium*.

When

When I quote your words, —— *We muſt not communicate with a Pariſh Miniſter, who concurreth with the Biſhops*, you ſay I ſhould have added; *In conſenting to our ſilencing.* Indeed I thought thoſe words needleſs and ſuperfluous: For what Pariſh Miniſters had any hand in your ſilence? If as being Subjects virtually in the Parliament, ſo you were acceſſary your ſelf: If as approving and rejoycing at your ſilence, you will find this very difficult in any good Pariſh Miniſters; eſpecially, ſince we cry aloud for your Miniſterial Aſſiſtance.

You tell me, *You can as ſoon drive the People through a Stone Wall, as bring them to Communion in our way. You bid me do it my ſelf, if I can.* Sir! Had they not been diſtracted, diſtorted, and poiſoned by other Tutors, much might have been done; perhaps we might have taken ſuch ſtragling Sheep upon our Shoulders, and have brought them to their proper Folds. But ſince they have been taught (like Wolves) not to value the Scepter, I have ſmall hopes to prevail with my Shepherds Crook. If they will not now hear your Voice, and be obſequious to your Whiſtle; they will, like *Corah*'s Company, tell me to my Face, —— They will not come up; or like Maſtiff Dogs, will worry me to pieces. Thoſe that are lately perverted any way, are moſt heady and fierce. *The Revolters are profound to make ſlaughter*, Hoſ. 5. 2. And after the Scribes and Phariſees had compaſs'd

pass'd Sea and Land to make one Proselyte; when he was made he was two-fold more the Child of Hell than themselves, *Mat.* 23. 15.

Now, Sir! Since you do both in print, and in your Letters, so scorn at my absurdity, *in desiring your Reasons for Nonconformity*; whereas, *it would hazard your safety, if you should do it without a License, which is not to be expected.* If you have such strong Arguments in store, which may prove Conformity to be *simply and absolutely sinful*: *An avowed and deliberate sin*; what think you of transmitting them to me? I will do my best to Midwife them into the Light, without any commerce with the *Huxters* you reproach me with. Indeed I did send an *Epistola veridica* to the Tryars (in the Usurper's days) without an *Imprimatur.*

You end, as it were glorying, *That you have not given me a lenifying Answer*, or *spoken me fair.* You might have said, (*If you are so naturally addicted, as you say, to speak plain truth,*) That taking your Rod into your Hand, you have flash'd the *Malepert Levite.* Well! I will get some good by you, whether you will or no; I will think more humbly and meanly of my self, than you can speak. *And though you say I am so blinded with self-love, that I neither know what I say or do*; yet I will not pay you in your own Coin; but pray for you, as I do for my self, — That wherein you or I erre, that

that God would even reveal this unto us, and reduce us into the Way of Truth.

If your habit of ſeverity, and keen edge of faſtuous contempt, may be abated, and you may be happily mollified into more kindneſs: If you ſhall then vouchſafe to write to me in a more favourable, ſmooth, and obliging Strain; you ſhall not overcome, though you conquer me. In the mean time you may call me a *Levite*; but I will take the boldneſs to ſubſcribe my ſelf,

Your

Σωπρεσβύτερ Θ,

*Jo. Hinckley.*

*Northfield.*
*May* 23.

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A

# LETTER

Written to

# Mr. Baxter,

After his BOOK of

*Church Diviſions* came forth.

*SIR,*

I Perceive, that my Anſwer to your Letter was not ſatisfactory; ſince I find in your late Book, not only oblique Reflections, but direct and down-right Expreſſions; wherein (without any Ambages) you articulately ſignifie your diſcontent both with me and my Book. Who would have thought that a word or two of advice and ſeaſonable counſel ſhould have

have merited ſuch harſh and Paſſionate Cenſures? or ſhould not eſcape branding with the black *Theta* of a *Challenge*, *Ambuſcade*, and an intimation of *Defamation* and *Blood*? Herein (me thinks) conſidering the Premiſes, you ſhew as great a defect of Logick, as of Charity. To what purpoſe is your Tragical outcry of *provoking you to gape againſt an Oven?* and *making your Name a Stepping-ſtone to thoſe Ends I aſpire after*? Alas! what advantage will it be to me to ſee you in the flames? or your Name ſullied? That's barbarous; and this ambitious. I am in the Zenith of my preferment, whilſt I am a conſtant Preacher of the Goſpel.

How are you ſure that I am not able *to endure the light of the Truth*? If the Organs of my Eyes are indiſpoſed at preſent, I will borrow ſome Spectacles, or procure ſome Eye-ſalve to clear them, before you can prove thoſe things to be *truth*, which you call ſo. When I ſee Scripture and reaſon for them, let me be accounted ſtabborn or ſtupid, if I either ſhut my Eyes, or cannot ἀτενίζειν, hold them ſteddy enough to diſcern them in their genuine Colours. Before this be done, you cannot be aſſured, that you are a true Prophet, in judging and condemning me afore-hand. Are you Secretary to him, who at one glance ſees them, who have Eyes and ſee not, or elſe ſee but perceive not? You know who it was that boaſted that his Eyes were open, *Numb.* 24. 3. I

wiſh you knew me better, and then you might have abated theſe ſeverities.

How can you hope to *heal our Diviſions*, and to wooe our *Engliſh* World into mutual love? when your own Gall runs over with ſuch large Effluviums, and your thoughts are ſo over-weening, as if you did comprehend all Knowledge, Truth, and Light; and we, poor Wretches! were groping in Cimmerian darkneſs, or grovelling in ſome narrow Ditch. But if you will not hold up your Taper and help us forth, reſerving your Antidote againſt our ſin and error, in your own Breaſt; take heed you meet not with the ſame doom, as he in *Cardan*, who knew how to cure the Stone, and dyed without revealing it.

It is well, that you are pleas'd to prolong your *Anſwer*, *until I procure you a Licenſe*; for ſo you may ſpare your own trouble, *uſq; ad Cal. Græc.* For who would unmuzzle a fierce Panther, that would worry him that ſets his Chops at liberty? Although another Man would tell you; Herein you deal like the Papiſts, who tell us, they can prove us all Hereticks, if they might have liberty to diſpute, and write without the hazard of the Law: Yet when it pleaſes them, they take liberty more than enough. Sir! if ever you comply with my ſober Requeſt, you need not direct it to me, but to the Common-wealth of the *Engliſh* Clergy.

As

As for thoſe four Lines 2. *Part. Pag.* 8. ſpend your ſecond thoughts upon them, and ſee whether you can make ſenſe of them. There you ſerve in again the ſame Diſh of Coleworts; but you leave out the Author, and name the Book; yet in your Grammar the Book is a Perſon. This is no Solaciſm with you, who can make one *Diſparatum* to predicate of another; for in the ſame Part *Pag.* 92. you categorically affirm, that προφθεις is a Verb. Theſe are but trifles; yet if a Man be put to fencing, he will take all advantages.

As for the bulk and ſcope of your Book, concerning healing Church Diviſions, —— *Cum ſis mortalis*, &c. The Scene is laid in Heaven, and the deſign is Generous, Noble, and Chriſtian. It is great pity, that you ſhould, *Auſis excidere tam magnis*. Yet conſider whether the aim and level be both right. If you would have us joyn together with one Heart and Shoulder in the Worſhip of God, as now conſtituted, which you allow *P.* 38. me thinks you ſhould not (I will uſe as much ſoftneſs as I can) have ſpoken ſo ſleightly —— of Conformity. As, *if you ſhould conform, it would neither be a little or ſingle ſin*, Pag. 26. This muſt needs weaken our Hands, prejudice our Miniſtry, and make the People cold in joyning with us. Will thoſe words of Mr. *Dod* hold weight in the Ballance of the Sanctuary? *who thanked God for the Churches ſake,*

*that ſome Men conform'd; and for the Truth ſake, that ſome conform'd not.* Can that be for the advantage of the Church, which is not according to the Truth? Does God ſtand in need of our Lies? ſhould we ſpeak wickedly for God, or talk deceitfully for him? *Job* 13. 7.

2. Though in ſome places you ſpeak honourably of our Liturgy, *Pag.* 38. 59. 88. yet you daſh all again by complaining of *its imperfect mode and faſhion of words*, Pag. 59. And that you joyn with us meerly by force, for want of a better; for *were you in* New-England, *you would not* joyn with our Prayers. 2. *Part P.* 176. Is this your Balm of *Gilead* for our Wounds? Are you like to prove a good *Samaritan* to our bleeding Church? What lowring and longing muſt there be, after another mode of Worſhip, if ours be ſo imperfect, and that of other Churches ſo far beyond it? You do well: Go on! that you joyn with the Prayers of the Liturgy, and in the Celebration of the Sacrament, *P.* 34. 40. yet you will not touch either (as to an active Adminiſtration of them) with the leaſt of your Fingers. And herein you reſemble the preſent *Jews*, who hire Chriſtian Servants to kindle their Fires, and to dreſs their Meat on the Sabbath-day. They care not what is done, ſo they do it not themſelves.

3. Was

3. Was it a right course to cement us, and *cure our Divisions* by alienating the Minds of Men from their *Governours*, and that *Government* which is established by Law amongst us? As if it were not lawful (by your Doctrine) to own *Diocesan Bishops*, and to hold Communion with a Diocesan Church, P. 75. Nay, *we must not communicate with a Parish Minister who concurreth with the Bishops*, P. 77, *The Government is such as God will not accept*, Part 2. P. 3. And to take off the Stomachs of Subjects the more from their present Governours, you have found out a Forreign Government for them, (though not in *Rome*, yet in *Bohemia*, Pag. 46.) which in your *Judgment* does far surpass ours. Sir, I thought it had been far better for you and I, to obey old Establishments, than to invent or prescribe new ones. If we set the People a gadding after Innovations, we neither perform our own Duties, nor go the right way to *cure* the Peoples *Divisions*.

Now Sir! I have given you these Strictures, not out of any desire to reciprocate the same with you, any farther than a private Letter; but only to prepare you for what you may expect from your Antagonist, and to shew you how dangerous it is to recede from the good old Paths, and allowed Principles, and to bewilder our selves and others with new and rash contrivances of our own Heads. As

for any thing, which upon juſt and proper Grounds ſhall have a tendency to the advancing of Love and Peace, I ſhall always be your Second, and your *Fidus Achates*, whilſt I am,

*John Hinckley.*

*Northfield April* 11.
In *Worceſter-ſhire.*

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Mr.

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Mr. *BAXTER'S*

# Third Letter.

*SIR,*

THough you foretel me how little good my writing will do you, in which I presume not to contradict you; yet the vindication of Truth is an end sufficient to invite me to bestow a few more Lines, in detecting your unworthy opposition against that Object of the intellectual Nature. Truth and Repentance are the things which you vehemently militate against, (under pretence of skirmishing with my words) and that by no better Weapons than a wrangling Wit, Rhetorical diversions, which you use like one unwilling to understand the truth, or to confess an Error or injurious Deed.

§. 1. You tell me I am a *treacherous Watchman* if I suffer sin upon you; and at the same time open your offence, that I tell you of *Crimes* and *Guilt*, and name some of your faults: This is the *Waters of* Marah to you,

*Sarcaſmes*, *Satyrs*, &c. Are not you reſolved then to be diſpleaſed by our Speech or Silence, and to make me unavoidably an Offender by the contrariety of your Laws; (and what a wonder of ſelf-ignorance is it, that the Author of the *Perſwaſive* ſhould draw up the Floodgates of Sarcaſtical ſcorn upon ſo many and ſuch Men, and yet be ſo ſenſible of a drop of juſt reproof that fell upon his own Head?)

§. 2. After ſuch a Book you would not be ſaid to traduce the Presbyterians, as if you wrote you knew not what, or had already forgotten it.

§. 3. When I had opened your ſtrange dealing in calling for thoſe Reaſons of our Non-conformity which you knew we muſt not publiſh, you neither can hide your diſingenuity, nor will confeſs it.

§. 4. In my laſt I briefly named divers of your palpable contradictions; and many of them you have no cloak for, and yet no confeſſion of, but a ſilent preterition. And what you ſpeak to is ſo managed, as if our Queſtion had not been, whether you had ſpoken well and truly? but whether you could ſpeak again, or had any Pen, Ink, and Paper left?

§. 5. As to the ſilenc'd Miniſters, (that you may not ſeem guiltleſs) you firſt ſay, [*How many of theſe have little more learning than your* Engliſh *Books have taught them, as great Strangers*

*gers to the Writers of the first Centuries, as they have been to the Universities.*] You did craftily to speak interrogatively: For a Question cannot be false. There are many Nonconformists that live within a few Miles of your dwelling; which of them do you mean? Is it good old Mr. *Sam. Hilderſham*, or Mr. *Sam. Fiſher*, or Mr. *Wilsby*, or Mr. *Bryan*, or Mr. *Reignolds*, or Mr. *Tho. Baldwin Senior*, or Mr. *Spilsbury*, or which of all the reſt do you mean? Sure it's I that am the Stranger to the Univerſities, that am therefore worthy to be ſilenced: I know but of two or three more in all the Country about you: But that two of thoſe are ſo ſtrange to the *Fathers* I do not believe. But if they be, I had rather the Church had Men that will ſpeak ſound Doctrine in an apt and ſerious manner for the bringing of ſinners to repentance in *Engliſh*, than ſuch as can lace an inſipid, empty, or ſenſeleſs diſcourſe with ſome Shreds of *Chaldee*, *Syriack*, and *Arabick*: And though I could wiſh, that all the Miniſters of Chriſt had all Accompliſhments fit even for the adorning of their Sacred Work; yet I had rather hear a meer *Engliſh* Divine, than an *Hebrew* or a *Syriack* Sot. But as I am grown of late years to take it for no very great honour to our young Preachers, that they are acquainted with the Univerſities; ſo I think it ſo ſhort a Work to read the few brief Writers of the three firſt Centuries, as maketh

it

it more a diſhonour to be ignorant of them, than any great honour to be acquainted with them.

But Sir, this kind of talk had been fitter for a Man of *Æthiopia* or *Armenia*, that knoweth not *England*, than for an *Engliſh* Prieſt. O that one half of our Pariſhes now had Men that were near as learned and underſtanding and able for their Miniſterial Work, as thoſe two that I know near you, who never were Graduates in any Univerſity: How eaſily could I bear the ſilencing of my ſelf and all the reſt, if all our Places were but fully ſupplyed with Conformiſts that had but that meaſure of Knowledge, Utterance, Piety, and Diligence, as the more unlearned and loweſt Rank of the Non-conformiſts of my Acquaintance have, if you take out a third part of that inferior Rank, (though ſome one individual may be as low.) And I think I know as many of them as you: What pains do I take by Word and Writing and Example, to ſatisfie them that are averſe to joyn in the publick Aſſemblies? And when I meet with a Pariſh that hath an honeſt, ſober, tolerable, or competent Preacher, I uſually prevail. But alas! from how many do I hear, "[What Man can endure to hear a School-"boy read over or Cant the Shreds and "Patches of inſipid nonſenſe, or ignorantly "abuſe the Scripture, and talk of things which "he underſtandeth not, and prate againſt he

"knoweth

" knoweth not what, to get ſome reputation
" with thoſe that take Vanity and Vexation to
" be the laudable Accompliſhments of a Prieſt?
" Or if ſometimes they ſpeak things good and
" needful, it is done with ſo little skill or ſeri-
" ouſneſs, that all comes cold and dead to the
" Hearers, who hear them as School-boys ſaying
" over their Leſſons, and not as Men that are in
" good ſadneſs and believe themſelves: Eſpe-
" cially conſidering how ſeldom a good word
" is heard out of their mouths all the week
" after, and how oft they are in the Ale-houſe,
" and how ſeldom in the Houſes of the igno-
" rant to inſtruct them, and help them to pre-
" pare for the Life to come] ſuch Anſwers as
theſe, how often do I hear? *Pudet hæc opprobria* —— I believe no more than I am conſtrained to believe. But I ſometimes hear Lads talk in the Pulpit at ſuch a rate my ſelf, as I confeſs would go near to drive me alſo away, if ordinarily I had not better: And when Patrons ſeek to me to motion them to a Teacher, how hard do I find it to find them a Man that hath the abilities of the lower ſort of Nonconformiſts. To confeſs the truth to you, the Preachers of theſe late years have almoſt brought me to the opinion of ſome of the higheſt Formaliſts, that not only a Form of Prayer, but of Preaching too, be ſtrictly impoſed on ſome Miniſters, and nothing endured but Liturgies and Homilies: For I am ſo far now

now from being all for Sermons, that I take the Common-Prayer to be incomparably better than the Prayers or Sermons of ſome that I hear, and to be the beſt that I expect in many places when I go to Church: And if all conformable Preachers were ſuch, as too many be, I would heartily prefer our Homilies and Common-Prayer before all their Pulpit-work. And now I ſee which is the way to bring it to this paſs, and to put down Preaching and Pulpit-Prayers, even to ſet up ſuch as will weary the Hearers, and make them be glad of a Homily, as better than ſuch pittiful ſtuff: But yet I will not conſent to that deſign, while there are ſo many living that can and would do better if they might. But muſt we be ſilenced becauſe we be not ſuch as theſe Conformiſts, or muſt theſe alſo be ſilenced with us? But I pray, Sir, forget not to tell me in your next what one Non-conformiſt was ſilenced on the account of inſufficiency? and whether the very worſt and meaneſt of thoſe that formerly joyned with them, be not re-ordained and received when they do conform?

§. 6. You next ask [How many of theſe were neſted in other Mens Habitations, while the right owners were expoſed to Wind, Weather and Starving, double the number of 1800?] *Anſw.* 1. But how many of thoſe were *never* in any Sequeſtration; and muſt not *they* preach the Goſpel for the ſake of *others*?

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2. I deny not the great Crime you charge upon them: When the Judges of those times had cast out many Conformists, (most that ever I knew of, upon accusations of insufficiency, or gros scandal witnessed upon Oath) though too many (contrary to the requests of my self, and many other Ministers) were censured for their opposition to the Parliament) then did these Non-conformists (some of them) come upon the Peoples request into the vacant Churches, and chose rather to preach to the People, than they should have none, and Gods publick Worship should cease in the Land; and I confess, that they did eat Bread while they laboured, even that which was devoted to the maintenance of the Labourers. I was one of these my self, and others before you have told me of it. And though I never put the Vicar out of his House, (nor set my foot within his doors, lest he should think I intended it) yet I confess he had but somewhat above 40 *l.* *per Annum* out of the Sequestration, and his old Curate Mr. *Turner* 10 *l.* But that amounted to abovt 500 *l.* a Sermon in fourteen years, (and I never forbade him to preach) whereas before his Sequestration he had not past 30 *l.* or 40 *l.* a Sermon at most; (For he preach'd (as some called it) once a quarter.) His Curate Mr. *Turner* had his old stipend to his death, and almost all the time did publickly read the Com-

Common-Prayer at *Mitton*, though I told him indeed that I could wish he would give over the Ministry; seeing upon examination I could not find that he understood much of his Creed, nor what we expect from Catechized Children of twelve years old. But whether it had been my duty to have forborn my fourteen years labour there, because the Times cast out such Men; and whether it had been better have left many hundreds untaught, to perish for ever in their sin and ignorance, or whether sin and ignorance are really such dangerous matters as we Non-conformists have believed, are Controversies which I will not now debate.

§. 7. You add, [ The Retalliation may cause them to say, As I have done, so God hath requited me. ] *Answ.* 1. Doth this savour of any sense at all of a love to Souls? Is it the *Preachers* or the *People* that suffer more? When we desire but that we may be suffered to instruct sinners, and perswade them to Repentance, till the Churches be so well supplied as not to need us, instead of noting the misery of those that perish for lack of teaching, you tell us how justly we are requited: And must so many thousands go to Hell that we may be requited? Why should so many suffer for our faults? 2. But let us consider also your Justice to our selves. 1. The Ministers that were in Sequestrations were put out (where any could

claim

claim the Place) before the 1800 were silenced, and they were not I think a fourth part of the silenced ones that were of that number. 2. They succeeded those that were mostly cast out upon accusations of scandal, witnessed upon Oath, (as the two first Centuries printed unhappily shew:) If you say that the Witnesses swore falsely, and the Judges were unjust, I answer, That where I was acquainted the Witnesses were reputed as honest Men as any in the Place, and they got nothing by their Oaths; and if all were unjust, I answer, that was not the succeeding Ministers fault. 3. I my self succeeded one that preached but once a quarter, and that so as I never heard the silliest Sectary preach in my life. 4. None of them that I know of had any hand in casting out these Ministers: Most of them came out of the Universities after the other were ejected. 5. If they had not come in, the Peoples Souls, and the publick Worship of God had been forsaken. 6. When we were in, we laboured with all our skill and power publickly, and from House to House, and might we have indulged the Flesh, had never taken such a Flesh-displeasing course. 7. The ejected Ministers had for their Wives a fifth part of the maintenance. 8. And the ejected Ministers were never silenced that I know of, but only forbidden to use the Common-Prayer but a little before *Cromwel* dyed.

9. And againſt this both I and others wrote, and requeſted of the Uſurper, that none that was of competent Parts, and an honeſt Life, might be hindered from the Miniſtry for ſerving the King, or upon any ſuch civil or diſciplinary differences. This was our Caſe; and were we requited as we had done? Did we ſilence any Man? Did we caſt any out, (how bad ſoever;) ſome did perhaps, or had a hand in it? But what's that to the many hundred that did not? Have we the fifth part? Have we leave to preach when we are ejected out of the Places of Maintenance? I confeſs we had an opinion, which I will not now ſtand to defend, that the damnation of multitudes of Souls is too dear a price to purchaſe the Eaſe or fuller Maintenance of an ignorant and a drunken Prieſt above his fifth part: And though here and there ſuch a Man as your ſelf might be caſt out, which I never liked or had a hand in, yet your pleading in this Cauſe doth urge me to tell you my own experience: When I was a Child, I lived under five Teachers before I was ten years old, of which moſt were ignorant Readers, two Drunkards, one an unlearned ſeldom Preacher; after that, before I was fifteen, I lived where was a Parſon of eighty years old, that never preached, and a Vicar of near eighty that never preached, both in one Pariſh; and four Curates and Parſons, drunken Readers, moſt of

of them my School-masters: The last preached but once, and then he was stark drunk, the dreadfullest Sermon that ever I heard, on *Mat.* 25. 40, *&c.* Besides all these, some years, when the old Parsons Eye-sight failed, he said the Common-prayer by rote, and a Taylor read the Scriptures for him one year, and a poor Day-labourer another. When I entred into the Ministry my self, I have told you whom I did succeed: But as the man is, so is his appetite and relish: I strive not to bring you to dislike such Priests, nor to win you from pleading for the silencing of Faithful Ministers; but while I am silenced, I will tell you what Truth and Innocence have to say.

§. 8. As to the *Number* which you will not believe, I can only tell you that about 1800 were silenced 1662. of whom I will suppose an hundred to have conformed, and an hundred to be dead: But doubt not but some spring up in their steads.

§. 9. As to your first Caution, I confess Exasperations have made some talk more sharply against the Bishops than I think meet: But I wonder and rejoyce that they are so few. Had it been about *London* an usual thing, they had heard more of it before now.

§. 10. And for your second Caution, it is not you nor I that make those Laws which denominate Duty and Sin: And if I would hold

it to be no sin in me to *lie deliberately*, and say, that I assent and consent to all things in three Books, when I do not, or to absolve from an Oath many hundred thousands, when I never knew in what sense they took it, or other such like; if I incourage the Laity to conform to the Corporation Declaration, that no man is bound by any thing in the Vow, no not against Schism, Popery nor Prophaness, nor to repent of his sins, *&c.* Gods Law will never the more justifie any of this for my Conformity to it: Nor will he accept of disobedience for a Sacrifice, nor needeth my lie or other sin to his Service or Glory. But it's a fine World, when fearing sin (and no less sin than aforesaid) is become the sin and danger of the Church.

§. 11. I will add one observation on this Subject, to make up your comparison what those whom I and others of my acquaintance succeeded were (not silenced but) sequestred for, is said before; but. I never yet heard of one Non-conformist silenced for *Insufficiency* or *Scandal*, but for *Nonconformity* alone. Let not your talk and mine, but the Laws, and Court-Records judge and tell Posterity the Truth. But I have known silly Anabaptists and Sectaries, whom we never approved, received into the Ministry of the Church of *England* upon their Conformity.

§. 12. You say, [*I am glad you own my quotation out of your Book of* Rest, *&c.*] *Answ.* Alas Sir, is not repentance better than hiding slander by palpable untruth? I told you truly, [I never wrote so, I never thought so, but have proved the contrary at large, *&c.*] Why did not you cite the words where I say it.

§. 13. You add for a Cover another untruth, that I say [I have retracted and expunged it in a later Edition:] not a true word, I only said, [That *I had retracted and expunged, not only that which you pervert, but all the rest from end to end, which seemed to favour the late Wars.*] And is it all one to say, I expunged what you *accuse me* of, and to say I expunged *that which you pervert*: But you have more learning than we that are strangers to the Universities, and therefore can make good one untruth with another; and sport your self with the Image of a jumping Deer, and a playing Fish; so hard is it to convince you of visible sin.

§. 14. You add, [*If you be so rash in obtruding your immature Notions*, &c.] *Answ.* I justifie none of my Juvenile Errors or Crudities. But how suitably cometh this from the same Pen, that tells me how *glorious it would be*, P. 128. *to retract with the great Bishop of Hippo*, &c. And in the same Book not only *urgeth*, but *falsifyeth* what I did so many years

*before retract*; and now again upbraideth me with that which I did retract. I know *Innocency* is best: But can any Man think it would please such Men? I confess had I never wrote at all, I had never wrote any word amiss: And had I never preached at all, I had never preached word amiss, which is the cure used on us now, and the innocency of Priests which I have heard some plead for.

§. 15. I neither had nor have any mind to pour Vinegar into the Wound which you lament only, when in your Book you tell me of the inconformity of some that grew up under my Shadow, *Pag.* 129. you forgot that you would not be responsible for one Man in your own Family, and yet I am chargeable with that which you suppose the fault of I know not who.

§. 16. If your Neighbour and his Wife will swear what you say, wonder not that so much scandal was charged by Oath on your *sequestred Ministers*; I tell you again, that I was never to my knowledge in your Parish in my life; that I never took Horse in my life; that I medled not *my self* with any one at that time that I told you I went out; that I never kept or possessed one of them; Therefore no Committee could order me to restore them, But a Week after, another Company, as I told you, did fetch some from that Parish, and were ordered by the Committee to restore

some

ſome of them; which muſt needs prove your Neighbours miſtake. No Man, to my beſt remembrance, ever came to me with any Order from the Committee; for they knew that I was no Officer, and kept not a Horſe. And if he followed me to *London*, it muſt be at leaſt ſixteen years after. For I was never at Mr. *Foley*'s Houſe in *London* till 1660. and the time he ſpeaketh of was 1644.

§. 17. You ſay, [*In your late Book you ſay, you medled not with the War till after* Naſeby *Fight.*] *Anſw.* Not a true word: What ſhould move you to do thus? I ſee Mr. *Bagſhaw* is not the only temerarious Writer. I tell you the clean contrary in that Book, and only ſay, [*That I never entered into the Army till after* Naſeby *Fight.*] And is that all one as to ſay, *I never medled with the War?*

§. 18. The Aphoriſms which you called me to retract, you thus noted, [*Thoſe eſpecially which are gathered by an Eminent Hand.*] I inſtanced but in the firſt which that Eminent Hand had gathered: And now, *this is not one of thoſe* that you meant.

§. 19. You ſay, [*That ſince Arch-biſhop* Abbot *refuſed to Licenſe Dr.* Sybthorpes *Book, I muſt ſuppoſe him a Presbyterian.*] *Anſw.* Yet not a word true! I only ſaid, [*Was Arch-biſhop* Abbot *a Presbyterian?*] implying that he was none: and ſo that the Prelatiſts were they that began to offend the

King by ſtriving againſt his Will, as I further told you.

§. 20. The inconſequence which you bring in with [*I muſt ſay*] ſhould have been turned into [*I did ſay,*] Did I not recite your own words? Doth he not ſwear to Dioceſanes and Lay-Chancellors, who ſweareth, *That he will not at any time endeavour any alteration of the Government of the Church*, which is in their Hands? And doth not he *endeavour an alteration*, who *Petitioneth* the King or Parliament for it? Shall we ſwear *univerſally*, and ſay we meant it but *particularly*?

§. 21. In your deſcription of Preſbyterians you talk of [*pulling down Epiſcopacy, and ſetting up Presbyterian Government in the Church againſt the conſent of the Supream Magiſtrate,*] when you were told that it was *Epiſcopacy* that the preſent Non-conformiſts moved to obtain: And I know none of them that take it not for Rebellion to pull down or ſet up forcibly or by the Sword, any thing againſt the Supream Ruler, or without him, (except only what a Parent or Maſter may do in his Family on Children with the Rod.)

§. 22. Seeing you cannot deny but that you printed about the *Savoy* Buſineſs that which you underſtood not, and cannot juſtifie; why do you not rather retract it, than wiſh things had been managed worſe? Do you not know how much, yea very much more we

yielded

yielded to, than ever *Hildersham*, whom you praise, or the other old Non-conformist would have done? See but the Kings Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs, and read Dr. *John Reignolds* Papers to Sir *Francis Knowles* against Episcopacy, and judge whether he himself would have gone any further. Indeed I know not that I differ in any Point of Worship, Ceremonies or Discipline, from that learned Doctor whom you praise.

§. 23. You make me wonder to read what you urge us with about Popery, when we so long together spake aloud, (when we were allowed) and told them, "[Our union is our "strength, and all the faithful Ministers of "*England* are too few to cast and keep out Ig- "norance, Popery, and Sensuality; and if we "were all never so conformable our selves, we "do know the Land so well, that we are sure "if such and such things be made necessary to "Ministration and Communion, many hun- "dred worthy Ministers will be silenced, and "many thousand religious People will become "Separatists, and more be offended; and our "Divisions will involve us in discontents and "murmurings on one side, and severities on "the other, and Popery and Prophaness will "prosper under our Divisions: And you will "be necessitated to fill up our Places with ma- "ny such Ministers as will increase all this mise- "ry; and all this may now be prevented by

" that which will do you no harm at all. ] And when after all our endeavours the Flood-gates are pluck'd up, which we would have kept down, it is now pretended, that if we cannot nimbly and deeply ſwear, and ſubſcribe, and do all that is impoſed on us, Popery forſooth will come in, and it's long of us, that would fain have prevented it, and ſtop'd the gap.

§. 24. When I had beyond all ſober contradiction proved to you, that it was Epiſcopal Men in *England* that raiſed the War againſt the King, that I might move you to impartiality, and to call them to Repentance, you do the poorlieſt put off that which you cannot confute, and yet will not acknowledge, as if nothing were criminal in them that are of the Church of *England:* Who knoweth not that many Epiſcopal Parliaments before had begun the ſame Quarrels againſt the King, which the Long Parliament proſecuted, and cryed out ſtill of Monopolies, loſs of Liberties and Propriety, Arminianiſm and Innovations in Religion, toleration and increaſe of Popery? Read but *Ruſhworths* Collections, and *Heylins* Life of Arch-biſhop *Laud*, and deny it if you can. You cannot deny but that the Long Parliament began in the ſame temper as the former ended, having the irritation of that which they accounted *Lauds* Innovations to go higher: You cannot I think name two in all

the Houſe of Commons that were Preſbyterians when the War began: I provoke you to read over the Liſt of the Lord-Lieutenants of the Parliaments firſt Militia throughout all *England*, and prove but one of them to be then a Preſbyterian, or any of them that ſurvive yet to this day: I provoke you to name me one General, Officer, yea or three Collonels in all the Earl of *Eſſex* his firſt Army that were Preſbyterians. I might have gone further, and wiſh'd you to peruſe the Names of all the Parliaments old Major-Generals or Chief Commanders in the ſeveral Counties, (the Earl of *Stamford*, Sir *William Waller*, M. G. *Maſſey*, the Earl of *Denbeigh*, Sir *John Gell*, *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfaix*, *Dointz*, *Mitton*, Sir *Tho. Middleton*, *Morgan*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, &c.) and tell me how many you can find that were Preſbyterians. I can witneſs, that many greatlyeſt famed of late for Preſbyterians, have earneſtly pleaded with me for the preſent Epiſcopacy. I asked you whether it was not only the taking down that which they took to be the Innovations and Exorbitances, and civil Power of the Biſhops, which the Parliament asked when the War began? You can give me no anſwer to any of this that ſavoureth of ſenſe and modeſty, but what muſt grant, that it is notoriouſly certain that it was not a Preſbyterian, but an Epiſcopal and Eraſtian Parliament in *England* which

began

began the Wars: And yet you will rather hide their fact and fault, while you aggravate the ſame in others, than you will call the Epiſcopal Party to repentance. What credit ſhall we ever give to Hiſtory, when a thing ſo publick and notorious, as a Parliament, an Army, the Lord-Lieuteants, the Major-Generals, yea and the Synod, ſhall all be repreſented to be Men of another Party, and that had another Cauſe, than indeed they were and had? If in the ſame Age, the ſame Land, even where and when a great part of them are yet living, and the reſt lately were our Neighbours and Familiars, there ſhall yet be found ſuch Men, yea Preachers, as have the face to tell the World, that theſe at the raiſing of the War were Preſbyterians; we may next expect, that Hiſtory may make Poſterity believe, that they were not *Engliſh-men*: I my ſelf knew many of the Parliament, many Lord-Lieutenants, many of *Eſſex* his Army, many of the Major-Generals, and I ſcarce remember one Preſbyterian among them all at the beginning of the War, except two or three *Scottiſh* Soldiers that were in *Eſſex*'s Army; and I do not know that they were ſuch, but only that they were *Scots*. And for the *Weſtminſter* Aſſembly, except only the ſix or ſeven Independents that were there, I provoke you ſtill to name me three *Engliſh* Divines, that were Preſbyterians, or that were not Conformiſts?

Now

Now what do you ſay to all this? Do you deny? Do you confute any of it? Do you name a Man as an inſtance of my miſtake, or can you do it?

§. 25. Firſt you tell me, *I am at much pains to clear the Non-conformiſts of the guilt of the late War. Anſw.* No ſuch matter,——I only tell you that it was not a Preſbyterian Parliament, or Army, that *began* the *Engliſh* War. 1. The *beginning* of the War is one thing, and the *progreſs* is another; the Preſbyterians (or, ſaith Dr. *Heylin*, the *Scots* Lords for their Church-Lands and Tyths ſake) began it in *Scotland*, the Papiſts began it in *Ireland*, one part of the Epiſcopal againſt another began it in *England*. 2. All Non-conformiſts were not Preſbyterians. 3. Cannot I ſay that the Epiſcopal *began* it without clearing thoſe that did *ſecond* them; or the Sectaries that carried it on to the end?

You feign me to ſay, that [*A very few Non-conformiſts of a multitude were engaged in it*;] whereas my words were, [*It is not one of a multitude of the Nonconformable Miniſters that ever took up Arms againſt the King.*] I ſpeak there of *Miniſters* only, and thoſe that are *now* Non-conformiſts; of whom the far greateſt number were then *Children*, and many *unborn*, and many of the elder (yea moſt) never medled with Arms: But as for the *beginning* of the War, I cannot ſay, of a multitude a few

only

only were ingaged, for there was then *no multitude* in *England* of Nonconformable Miniſters. Little did I think to have ever been put to diſpute ſuch a Cauſe about open matter of Fact. I know not your age, but (being a Preacher near four years before the Wars) I was old enough to know, that in all the Counties that I was acquainted in, there was not above one poor obſcure Nonconformable Miniſter in a County, taking one with another, nor I think paſt one for two Counties: Poor old Mr. *Barnet* in *Shrop-ſhire*, Mr. *Langley* in *Cheſhire*, none in *Worceſter-ſhire*, Mr. *Atkins* in *Stafford-ſhire*, Mr. *Angier* in *Lancaſhire*, and how few more in all *England*, and which of theſe medled with the Wars?

§. 26. And here you ſay, [*I had thought*, currente rota, *while your Hand was in you would have ſaid, that the Regicides were Epiſcopal too*, &c. *Sir, I now perceive* Cateline *was a Fool*, &c.] *Anſw.* And is there any ſenſe or ſtrength in ſuch an Anſwer? Do ſuch words ſatisfie your Conſcience, for the falſifying of ſuch notorious matters of Fact? Is there any room for a doubt in the Buſineſs, except to Strangers, or thoſe that were unborn, or Children? Would you make me believe, that I ſaw not what I ſaw, and heard not what I heard?

You ſay, [*If Epiſcopal Men began and carried on the War, and Presbyterians were free*, &c.]

&c. ] *Anſw.* Did I ſay that they *were free*? or that they joyned not in the *Progreſs*? How could a *non-ens* be free or guilty? There were very few Preſbyterian Miniſters then in *England*; the *Scots* did bring in Preſbytery afterward. You add,

§. 27. *You were too credulous*, &c. *were they Epiſcopal Men that cryed, To your Tents O* Iſrael? *that preached Curſe ye* Meroz, *firſt voted, and then fought againſt the King? Anſw.* Is there one Man named here as an Inſtance to confute me? Is this Evidence fit for ſuch a Contradictor of notoriety it ſelf? When you have named me the Men that uſed thoſe words, I will anſwer you whether they were Epiſcopal? I think Dr. *Burges* was one of the moſt accuſed Preachers, being Aſſeſſor in the Aſſembly, and Chaplain to the Earl of *Eſſex*'s own Regiment: And he was one that proteſted for a *Salvo* for Epiſcopacy, when the Covenant was taken in the Aſſembly, as he hath told me with his own Mouth, and wrote to me with his own Hand, and none deny: And Dr. *Downing* of *Hackney* was one of the next, Chaplain to the Lord *Robert*'s Regiment, who (being Dr. of the Civil Law) hath Writings yet viſible in print *for Prelacy and Conformity*. Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr. *Obadia Sedgwick* were two of the next, (one Chaplain to *Eſſex*, the other to the Lord *Hollis*'s Regiment) both old Conformiſts: Of all the Chaplains of *Eſſex*'s Army,

Army, I knew not a Non-conformiſt and Preſbyterian but Mr. *Aſh*; and I think I knew them almoſt all. And for the Parliament I ſaid enough before: The Members yet living ſay, that Mr. *Tate* of *Northampton-ſhire* was the only Preſbyterian then in the Houſe of Commons, and I never yet knew one among the Lords.

§. 28. You ſay, [*If they were, they were degenerous from the* Engliſh *Epiſcopacy, they did not keep cloſe to our Church, (which were my words) to our Articles, our Canons, our Lyturgy, our Homilies.*] 1. *Anſw.* Your words were alſo, [*Who can chooſe but nauſeate that way of Diſcipline*, &c.] 2. Speak out then, and confeſs that they were degenerous Epiſcopal Men, and call them to repentance as the Raiſers of the War, and deceive not Poſterity by telling them the contrary. 3. But Sir, what mean you by *your Church*, which they kept not cloſe to? Doth not the Canon Anathematize them that deny the *Convocation* to be the *Repreſentative Church?* And muſt not the main Body of the Clergy then be your Church? And doth not Dr. *Heylin* largely ſhew you, that there were but five Biſhops joyned at firſt with Biſhop *Laud?* and that *Abbot* had the reſt with him, in ſo much that they durſt not commit their Cauſe to a Convocation? And that Arminianiſm, new Ceremonies, with Matters of Propriety and Prerogative, were the

the Matters then of the Contention, which made *Heylin* ſay, That *he knew not whether the Church could have a greater plague than a Popular Prelate*, (becauſe of *Abbots* Intereſt in the Nobility, Gentry, and People.) How ſhould one then have known which of the Parties was the *Church*, and who ſhall be Judge which Party it is that keeps cloſe to the Articles, Canons, Lyturgy and Homilies: *Whitgift* with Dr. *Whitaker* thought that the Anti-Arminian *Lambeth* Articles were the ſenſe of the Church and Articles.

*George Abbot* Arch biſhop, and *Robert Abbot* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, with *Davenant*, *Hall*, &c. thought the middle Auguſtinian way was the true ſenſe of the Articles, Lyturgy, *&c.* (which is the plain truth.) Biſhop *Laud*, with his four Partners, (*Neile*, *Buckeridge*, *Howſon*, and *Corbet*) thought (as *Heylin* ſaith) that the way called Arminian was the true ſenſe of the Articles and Church. *Overal* and *Mountague* kept with them of the middle way in the main, yet were more averſe to the Calviniſt Prelates than the reſt. Theſe fall out among themſelves: The Arminians being few, are born down by the reſt in Parliaments, and Convocations. The Duke of *Buckingham* (and, as *Heylin* ſaith, the King) favoured the five diſſenting Biſhops: When favour ſtrengtheneth their Party, they call themſelves the Church; accordingly one part of them

pleadeth for His Majesties Prerogative, *&c.* and the other are for Parliaments, and cry up Propriety and Liberty: At last the *Scotch* and *Irish* Bustles prepare all for a War, and these two Episcopal Parties fight; one Party cryeth down Arminianism, Innovations, Altars, favour to Papists, Ship-money, *&c.* the other Party cryeth out against absolute Reprobation, Calvinism, Puritanism, *&c.* the one Party cryeth down the Papists, and calleth the *Scots* Presbyterians to their help; the other Party cryeth down the Presbyterians, and calleth the Papists to their help: Which of these is the Church, which keepeth close to the Articles, Canons? *&c.* for my part I am none of the Judge between them in that Point. And I think if you call one side the Church, it will be never the more the *Church* for that; unless the King doth make it so: but surely they were both Episcopal, though one Party after fell in with the Presbyterians, (and the Presbyterians were conquered or cast out by the Sectaries) and the other Party kept with the King.

§. 29. You say, [*Would Episcopal Men conspire to root out Episcopacy?*] *Answ.* At first they conspired but to restrain and regulate those that they thought Innovators and Arminians, *&c.* (I speak only of Church Matters) but after they were too weak to defend themselves without the *Scots* and Sectaries, and were

were content to take down Epiſcopacy to pleaſe their Helpers, rather than to be overcome themſelves.

§. 30. Whether *Williams* or *Laud* was the better Arch-biſhop, or whether they did well that cut off *Laud*, is none of the Queſtion: All that I ſay was, that *Williams* was an Arch-biſhop, and a Commander for the Parliament in Arms.

§. 31. When you turn me from *Heylins* Life of *Laud*, to *Heylins* Hiſtory of Preſbytery you do but trifle and ſeek a *Subterfuge*. I juſtifie not the Preſbyterians in that he chargeth on them, (though you may know what *Peter Moulin*, Prebend of *Canterbury*, in his Anſwer to *Philanax Anglicus*, hath ſaid about the Forreign Churches.) But what's that to the Queſtion, whether it was an Epiſcopal Parliament or a Preſbyterian that began the *Engliſh* War, will the fault of one excuſe the other?

§. 32. As to what you ſay of the *Change of the Puritans, ſince* Jewel, Andrews, *&c. wrote for them, and that they are not ſuch as* Ball, *&c.* I Anſwer 1. Is the *Diſcipline* changed which you ſpeak of, or the *whole Chorus* which you ſpeak to? Was there no *Martin-Marprelates* then? Have we retracted our Doctrine or Conſent to the Church Articles, or to the Oaths of Allegiance or Supremacy? Have we not in 1660. yielded to more than ever *Ball*,

or any of the old Non-conformists yielded to? Deny it if you can. 2. As for personal Charges, others will be as ready to requite you with the like: But neither you nor they should charge any more, than you can prove guilty.

§. 33. You tell me, [*If* Hooker *were alive, he would make such as me to quake, so strong should we find his Breath in his deep, close, and strenuous Arguments: I have read him over again and again, yet I never observed him to be an Enemy to Monarchy;* —— *You can find out, if not New Worlds, yet new Inhabitants, and make strange Discoveries.*] *Answ.* A learned Confutator, I say not that *Hooker* or *Bilson* were Enemies to Monarchy. But I say that it was theirs, and such Prelatists Principles that led me to what I did and wrote in the Book which I have retracted. And must I be put to defend the King against such Men and Principles, at the same time when we are charged with that which we oppose? And will you indeed cry out of the Discipline of the whole Chorus of Dissenters, as not Loyal, and at the same time defend such Principles in the Prelatists?

Come on then, I will cite you some of their words; send me your defence of them in your next, and you shall, if I be able, have my Reply; and I begin with Bishop *Bilson*, because he was the more Learned Man: *Difference of Christ.*

*Christ. Subject.* &c. Pag. 520. he saith, "[Except the Laws of those Realms do permit "the People to stand on their right, if the "Prince would offer that wrong, I dare not "allow their Arms: —— I busie not my self "in other Mens Common-wealths as you do, "neither will I rashly pronounce all that resist "to be Rebels. Cases may fall out even in "Christian Kingdoms, where the People may "plead their Right against the Prince, and not "be charged with Rebellion. —— If a Prince "should go about to subject his Kingdoms to a "Forreign Realm, or change the form of the "Common-wealth from *Imperie* to Tyranny, or "neglect the Laws established by common con-"sent of Prince and People, to execute his "own pleasure; in these and other Cases which "might be named, if the Nobles and Com-"mons joyn together to defend their ancient "and accustomed Liberty, Regiment and "Laws, they may not well be counted Rebels, "—— I never denyed that the People might "preserve the Foundation, Freedom and Form "of their Common-wealth, which they forepri-"zed when they first consented to have a King. "I never said that Kingdoms and Common-"wealths might not proportion their States, as "they thought best by their publick Laws, "which afterward the Princes themselves may "not violate. —— And in Kingdoms where "Princes bear Rule by the Sword, we do not

" mean the Princes private Will againſt his " Laws, but his Precept derived from his Laws, " and agreeing with his Laws, which though it " be wicked, yet may it not be reſiſted by any " Subject with armed violence. Marry when " Princes offer their Subjects not Juſtice but " Force, and deſpiſe all Laws, and practiſe " their Luſts, not every or any private Man " may take the Sword to redreſs the Prince: " but if the Laws of the Land appoint the No- " bles, as next the King, to aſſiſt him in doing " right, and with-hold him from doing wrong, " then be they licenſed by Mans Law, and ſo " not prohibited by Gods, to interpoſe them- " ſelves for the ſafety of Equity and Innocen- " cy. —— It is eaſie for a running and railing " Head to ſit at home in his Chamber and call " Men Rebels, himſelf being the rankeſt.]

*Hooker Eccleſ. Polit. lib.* 1. §. 10. *Pag. Ed. ult.* 21. " That which we ſpeak of the Power " of Government, muſt here be applied to the " Power of making Laws whereby to govern, " which Power God hath over all, and by the " natural Law, whereto he hath made all ſub- " ject, the lawful Power of making Laws to " command whole politick Societies of Men, " belongeth ſo properly to the ſame entire So- " cieties, that for any Prince or Potentate, of " what kind ſoever, upon Earth, to exerciſe " the ſame himſelf, and not either by expreſs " Commiſſion immediately and perſonally re-

" ceived

" ceiv'd from God, or elſe by Authority de-
" riv'd at firſt from their conſent, upon whoſe
" perſon they impoſe Laws, it is no better than
" meer Tyranny: Laws they are not therefore
" which publick approbation hath not made
" ſo.

And *lib.* 8. *Pag.* 192. " Unto me it ſeemeth
" almoſt out of doubt and controverſie, that
" every Independent Multitude, before any
" certain Form of Regiment eſtabliſhed, hath
" under God Supream Authority, full Domi-
" nion over it ſelf. ——

And *Pag.* 193. " [In Kingdoms of this qua-
" lity the higheſt Governour hath indeed uni-
" verſal Dominion, but with dependency up-
" on the whole entire Body, over the ſeveral
" Parts whereof he hath Dominion; ſo that
" it ſtandeth for an Axiom in this Caſe, The
" King is *Singulis Major*, *Univerſis Minor*.

And *Pag.* 194. " Neither can any Man with
" reaſon think but that the firſt Inſtitution of
" Kings, (a ſufficient Conſideration wherefore
" their Power ſhould always depend on that
" from which it did always flow, by original
" influence of Power from the Body into the
" King) is the cauſe of Kings dependency in
" Power upon the Body; by dependency we
" mean ſub-ordination and ſubjection. ☞ A
" manifeſt Token of which dependency may
" be this. As there is no more certain Argu-
" ment that Lands are held under any as Lords,

" than if we ſee that ſuch Lands in defect of " Heirs fall unto them by Eſcheat; in like " manner it doth follow rightly, that ſeeing " Dominion, when there is none to inherit it, " returneth unto the Body; therefore they " which before were Inheritors of it, did hold " it in dependence on the Body: So that by " comparing the Body with the Head, as touch- " ing Power, it ſeemeth always to reſide in " both; fundamentally and radically in one; " in the other derivatively: In one the Habit, " in the other the Act of Power.] And " [— The Axiomes of our Royal Govern- " ment are theſe, *Lex facit Regem*; The " Kings Grant of any favour made contrary " to Law is void, *Rex nihil poteſt, niſi quid* " *jure poteſt.*

And *Pag.* 210. " When all which the Wiſ- " dom of all ſorts can do is done for the de- " viſing Laws in the Church, it is the general " conſent of all, that giveth them the Form " and Vigour of Laws, without which they " could be no more to us than the Counſels of " Phyſitians to the Sick; well might they ſeem " as wholeſom admonitions and inſtructions, " but Laws could they never be, without the " conſent of the whole Church to be guided " by them: Whereunto both Nature and the " Practiſe of the Church of God ſet down in " Scripture, is found every way ſo fully conſo- " nant, that God himſelf would not impoſe,

" no

" no not his own Laws upon his People, by the " Hand of *Moſes*, without their free and o- " pen conſent ] (O fearful Paſſage!)

And *P.* 220. " It is a thing even undoubt- " edly natural, that all free and independent " Societies ſhould themſelves make their own " Laws, and that this Power ſhould belong to " the whole, not to any certain part of a Po- " litick Body.

And *P.* 221. " [ For of this thing no Man " doubteth, namely, that in all Societies, Com- " panies, Corporations, what ſeverally each " ſhall be bound unto, it muſt be with all their " aſſents ratified. Againſt all equity it were, " that a Man ſhould ſuffer detriment at the " Hands of Men, for not obſerving, that " which he never did either by himſelf or by " others mediately or immediately agree to.

And *P.* 205. " [ If Magiſtrates be Heads of " Church, they are of neceſſity Chriſtians, ] (as " if no Magiſtrates but Chriſtians were *Chief* " *Governours* of the Church, which is meant " by Heads.)

And *P.* 218, 223, 224. " What Power the " King hath, he hath it by Law. The Bounds " and Limits of it are known: The entire com- " munity giveth order, *&c.* *P.* 223. As for " them that exerciſe Power altogether againſt " Order, although the kind of Power which " they have may be of God, yet is their exer- " ciſe thereof againſt God, and therefore not

" of

" God, otherwiſe than by permiſſion, as all " injuſtice is. —— *P.* 224. Uſurpers of Power " (whereby we do not mean them that by vio- " lence have aſpired unto Places of higheſt Au- " thority, but that uſe more Authority than " ever they did receive in form and manner " afore-mentioned, ——) ſuch Uſurpers thereof " as in the exerciſe of their Power do more than " they have been authorized to do, cannot in " Conſcience bind any Man to obedience. ☞

And *Pag.* 194. " May a Body-politick then " at all times withdraw in whole or in part the " Influence of Dominion which paſſeth from " it, if inconveniences do grow thereby? It " muſt be preſumed, that Supream Governours " will not in ſuch caſe oppoſe themſelves, and " be ſtiff in detaining that, the uſe whereof is " with publick detriment, *&c.*

Sir, I do not by reciting it diſſent from every word that I cite, but I am againſt Mr. *Hookers* Popular Fundamentals themſelves, and deſire you to let me know whether theſe be the Prelates Principles which you defend: And for an Expoſition of Mr. *Hooker*, remember that Sir *Edwin Sandys* was his Pupil and chief Boſom-friend.

But you ſay you have read his Book over and over, and therefore it is not from ignorance of what he wrote, that you become a defender of him. I ſuppoſe you are not ignorant that theſe are the very Principles, which (I

will

will not ſay the Long Parliament, but) the very Rump and Regicides went upon, that Power is originally in the People, and eſcheateth to them, and that the King is *Singulis Major*, but *Univerſis Minor*, &c. See *Parkers* Obſervations 1642.

If I were writing to ſuch as Mr. *Walton*, who would tempt Men to queſtion whether the 8*th* Book be not corrupted, I would tell them; 1. That the Paſſage in the firſt Book is the Sum of all the reſt, and ſheweth that they came from the ſame Author. 2. Dr. *Spencer* was not a Perſon ſo to be ſuſpected, as one that would befriend a corrupted Copy. 3. I can yet give you the Teſtimony of one of the famouſeſt Men in *England* for Learning in the Laws and Integrity, who had long ago a Copy in *M. S.* agreeing with the printed Copy. 4. Biſhop *Gauden* dedicated it to the King, and ſaith, That even the eighth Book is interlined in many places with Mr. *Hookers* own Characters, as owned by him, and he proveth it by other Reaſons. And the ſame Biſhop *Gauden* ſaith, *P.* 18. He admirably expreſſeth the original of all Laws.

And yet Biſhop *Carlton Treat. of Juriſdiction*, *Pag.* 12. ſaith, "[This I obſerve the rather, becauſe ſome of the Popes Flatterers of late, as others alſo, to open a wide gap to Rebellions, have written, That the Power of Government by the Law of Nature is

"in

" in the Multitude.] I conjecture that Mr. *Hooker* was the chief Man whom he meant by [others:] And his foreſaid Pupil and Friend was far from being a Preſbyterian, as his *Europæ Speculum* ſheweth; and yet it's well known how cloſe he ſtuck to *Abbot*'s Party, and how great a Man he was in Parliaments for the Subjects Liberty, and the reſtraint of Monarchy. And even Biſhop *Gauden* his laſt Publiſher ſaith, *Pag.* 4. of his Life. "[This is " certain, that the ſtrength of the Church of " *England* was much decayed and undermined, " before it was openly battered, partly by " ſome ſuperfluous illegals and unauthorized " Innovations in Point of Ceremony, which " ſome Men affected to uſe in publick, and im- " poſe upon others, which provoked People to " jealouſie and fury, even againſt things law- " ful, every Man judging truly, that the mea- " ſure of all publick Obedience ought to be " the publick Laws. ☞ Partly by a ſupine " neglect in others, of the main Matters in " which the Kingdom of God, the peace of " Conſcience, and the Churches Happineſs, do " chiefly conſiſt; while they were immoderate- " ly intent upon meer Formalities, and more " zealous for an outward conformity to thoſe " Shadows, than for that inward or outward " conformity with Chriſt in Holy Hearts and " unblamable Lives, which muſt adorn true Re- " ligion.] To which he adds the Teſtimony of Dr. *Holſworth.*

So

So that it is a thing notorious and past contradiction, that the Arminianism, Innovations, and supposed excesses and exorbitances of one part of the Prelatists, gave occasion to the other part (then accounted the Church and the more Protestant) to vent their displeasure and fear in many Parliaments, and at last to take up Arms, and when they found themselves too weak, to invite the *Scottish* Presbyterians to their Aid, who fell at last into the Hands of the Sectaries. And therefore I excuse or justifie none of the Parties; but those that say that the beginners of the War against the King are guilty of his death, as well as they that kill'd him, must confess that it was the Prelatists, or they must be impudent: And therefore I again advise you to forbear the defence of *Hooker* and such Conformists, and call them first to repentance, who were first (of the *English*) in taking up Arms against the King.

§. 34. It's well you disclaim the Politicks of *Grotius*: But what abundance more Authors of Politicks could I name you that make the *Majestas Realis* to be in the People, yea and the Power of judging Kings. Such as *Willius* (he whom Bishop *Hall* wrote his Epistle to in his *Remains*) *Alstedius*, &c. Besides the Papists; and if you agree with me in disliking those, do not own the same in *Hooker*, or other Prelatists.

§. 35. Be-

§. 35. Becauſe you ſaid, [*Who can chooſe but nauſeate that way of Diſcipline, which ſtartles at renouncing War againſt the King*:] I deſire you ro tell me what Diſcipline you mean? You will not ſay *Prelatical* Diſcipline; If you mean Preſbyterian, 1. I told you it was Epiſcopacy which the preſent Non-conformiſts offered to the King and Biſhops. 2. I deſired you to peruſe the Confeſſions and Deſcriptions of the Diſcipline of the Forreign Churches, and to tell me which words do deny renouncing ſuch War. And what ſay you to this? why! firſt you deride the motion, as a thing not to be required of you, and ſay their Actions are quite contrary to their Confeſſions? Will not your Conſcience mark here; 1. How your own Pen doth acquit their *Confeſſions*, and yet *you nauſeate the way of Diſcipline that ſtartles*, &c. And where is *the way of Diſcipline to be found* but in thoſe *Confeſſions*, which even the Accuſer now abſolveth? 2. And now you lay it on *Practice*, and what's that, 1. to the way of Diſcipline; 2. or to the *whole Chorus* which you ſpeak to, or any one Man whoſe Practice you have not proved ſuch as you accuſe? And is your printed Clamour come to this?

§. 36. And what ſay you of *the Practice now?* 1. You tell me of *Davila*. I pray next go to *Parſons* Image of both Churches, and to *Philanax Anglicus*, where you ſhall find the

the Prelatiſts as deeply charged. And muſt *Davila* a Papiſt be credited againſt Biſhop *Jewel*, Biſhop *Bilſon*, King *James*, and many other on the other ſide? And is not *Davila* a falſe Hiſtorian? For inſtance, he falſely ſaith, That *Carpenter* was kill'd in the Maſſacre, (who dyed of the fright) and that *Peter Ramus* (the Father of the Independents) was a Papiſt, *&c.* And is a falſe Forreigner and a Papiſt to be believed againſt the *French* Proteſtants? I again refer you to the late notable Vindication of the Forreign Preſbyterians in *France*, *Holland*, *Embden*, *Geneva*, &c. by *Pet. Moulin Jun.* in his Anſwer to *Philanax Anglicus*: And yet his Father might well blame them for ſome Inſtances as you cite him; For as to the laſt Buſineſs at *Saumurs* and *Rochel*, he was a noted and ſuffering Diſſenter from that Party, and ſo were other Proteſtants, as well as he.

But one would think by your Progreſs, that I had juſtified all the Wars or Actions of the Preſbyterians, becauſe I told you that the Prelatiſts begun the *Engliſh* War; which if you would inſinuate, (or elſe you ſpeak not ſenſe) you want either that underſtanding or that ſincerity which beſeemeth a Hiſtorian and a Divine.

But if really you will ſtand to it, that their *way of Diſcipline* is to be *nauſeated*, who are *guilty in practice* of reſiſting Kings, who do you

you not ſpeak out then, that the Prelatical Diſcipline is to be nauſeated, when you have not ſpoken a word of ſenſe to diſprove the aforeſaid Charge againſt the Prelatiſts? As to your Margin; 1. I have no more to do with *Martyn* than you have. 2. If you had any thing to have juſtifyed your Calumny out of *T. C.* or *Travers*, you ſhould have cited it; for it's but a ſilly ſhift to ſet down their bare Names. 3. And I will no further believe *Bancroft* or Sir *Th. Aſton*, than they prove what they ſay, no more than your ſelf. And I have reaſon for ſo ſaying.

§. 37. Next you feign me to ſay, That [*the Divines, Presbyterian or Epiſcopal, medled little with it*;] whereas I had no ſuch word, but on the contrary told you, [*That the Divines on both ſides were too guilty, if not the forwardeſt.*] And are you a fit Man to ſtate theſe matters in print for Poſterity, and pour out ſuch Invectives againſt other Men, that have not ſo much patience or care as to heed what you read in a Letter, or what you write in anſwer to it? What uſe can ſuch Writings as theſe be of, but to abuſe the ſimple? I only told you the differences were Political and Legal, and not Theological; but I ſaid not that Divines medled not in them.

§. 38. I did, as you ſay, deſire you to *name the Theological Differences*, if you know any, for I never did: And what ſay you to this? Would

would not any Reader here expect that you ſhould have named ſome one difference? But inſtead of that, you exclaim, [*This is ſtrange*] and you ask me, [*Did I never hear of Dr.* Ferne, *Mr.* Dudley Digs?] yes, and of Mr. *Weldon*, and *Michael Hudſon*, and Sir *Francis Netherſole*, and more, and have long ago read them all. And what of that? And I have read *Jo. Goodwin*, Mr. *Bridges*, Mr. *Calamy*, &c. And what of all that? Why did you not name the Theological Difference? —— You ſay, That it was called the *Cauſe of God*, *Religion*, &c. Did you think that you ſpake to the purpoſe, when you ſaid this? It was *Gratia materiæ*, *finis & effectus* that they accounted it the *Cauſe of Religion*: They thought it had been the liberation of their Church and Country, and the defence of Religion againſt Innovators. But what's that to the lawfulneſs of taking up Arms? Is any Man ſo mad (eſpecially an Epiſcopal Parliament) as to think all War lawful againſt the King, which is *for Religion?* Will a good end juſtifie ill means? Your own Inſtance of Mr. *Vines* and Mr. *Marſhal*, to prove, that in *Rom.* 13. by the *higher Powers* was meant the Parliament-houſes, *&c.* if you had been a Man of conſideration, would have clearly ſhewed you how it confuteth your ſelf: That, and many Texts of Scripture were agitated by Dr. *Ferne*, Mr. *Digs*, and thoſe that anſwered them: Upon all which

it was agreed, as far as I know, that the *Higher Powers* were not by *Arms* to be resisted. And this is all the Theological part. But did you think that they thought that *Rom.* 13. or other Scriptures, did tell the World whether *Cæsar* or the *Senate* was the higher Power? or which is the higher Power in *Venice*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Hungary*, *France*, *England*, or any Country in the World? Will you put the King to prove all his Power from Scripture? What ever you take it, I and all that ever I met with, that were above the Rank of those you describe by *Jobs* Wife, did take this to be a Point of Policy and Law, and not of Theology, and that Scriptures tell us not who is the Supream in every Republick, but supposing that known, commands us not to resist them. And then comes in Bishop *Bilson*, and saith what is before cited for *Lords and Commons* vindicating their Liberties; and then comes in *Hooker* and tells us, That by the Law of Nature Legislation belongeth to the Body, and that the King is dependent and subject to the Body, and such like. And many Divines took up those Opinions; and Dr. *Ferne* and others were against them. But what of all this? Are not these Controversies in Law and Politicks, though handled by Divines?

§. 39. Your next say, That Dr. *Manton* wrote on *Jude*, and note my in-advertency that take no more notice of his Labours: And I mar-

I marvel more than you can do, that I never heard of that Book before: Nor could hear of it from any one, till he told me himself, that he had long ago published some Sermons, which he preached very young, &c. on *Jude*. And that I was hereof ignorant I confess.

§. 40. You say of your Citation of Dr. *Burges*, That the Book is in the Hand of a Friend; and you add, [*Are you such a* Helluo Librorum, *and yet had you no acquaintance with these?*] *Answ.* I have read I think all Dr. *John Burges*'s Writings, except those against Conformity before he turned. And I read Dr. *Cornelius Burges* Book of Baptismal Regeneration about 36 years ago; and I after wrote somewhat against it, and Dr. *Ward* and Mr. *Bedford* on that Subject; and since I was familiar with the Author till near his death, therefore I believe not that it was *John Burges* that wrote that Book, but suppose you to be much liker to be mistaken than I. And unless Dr. *John Burges* wrote another Book of the same Subject (which I shall also wonder that I never heard of) I am as sure you are mistaken as my Eyes and Acquaintance can make me.

§. 41. I told you I knew not one of the Ministers that was not ready to swear that which you feign the *Discipline* of the *Chorus* to refuse. And you ask me, *Why then did they flit their Habitations?*

*Anſw.* Did I not expreſly tell you why? and was your diſingenuity at leiſure to fill your Paper with the recital of an anſwered Queſtion, that you might have opportunity to vent your *Latet aliquid*? And here you begin to diſpute the Caſe (Platonically.) But I cannot perſwade my ſelf to diſpute it with one that no better underſtandeth it, or careth what he ſaith; only I anſwer your Queſtions. Q. 1. *What was the ſum of that Oath, was it not plainly and directly againſt taking up Arms? Anſw.* 1. And is *that all* the Oath; or is there *not a* Clauſe for our *Church-Government?* 2. If ſo, why is the firſt Clauſe the *Sum* of the whole? 3. Or need my Conſcience ſtick at nothing in an Oath, but what you will call the *Sum?* O happy quieter of Conſciences that fear an Oath! Q. 2. *Did it any way hinder Parliament Mens ſpeaking, or others peaceably petitioning for ſuch reformation as is neceſſary? Anſw.* 1. You ſhall not draw me to ſay, that an alteration of Dioceſanes or Lay-Chancellors is neceſſary, no not *ad bene eſſe Eccleſiæ*; for I know the Law is againſt it. But if I thought ſo, is *Petitioning no Endeavouring?* Say ſo, and ſhew that you care not what you ſay, to draw down an Oath: And muſt not I ſwear, That I [*will not any time endeavour any alteration?*] And ſhall I ſwear *univerſally* againſt *all endeavour*, and mentally reſerve [*excepting petitioning, ſpeaking*, &c.] Are Oaths things to

be

be ſwallowed thus in ſport? And will wiping my Mouth thus make me innocent? Q. 3. [*Were not thoſe who were commiſſioned to adminiſter it, ready to declare the ſenſe of it?*] *Anſw.* 1. Where did the King and Parliament give them power to declare the ſenſe? 2. Is it not all the Juſtices in *England* that are authorized (two at once) to adminiſter it? And do you know what all the Juſtices in *England* are ready to do? 3. Are you ſure they will *all agree* in the ſenſe? or muſt we take it in ſeveral ſenſes, if ſeveral Men ſeverally expound it? 4. What Law or Divinity teacheth you to take an Oath in the ſenſe of an inferior Magiſtrate that offereth it you, who is not by the Law impowered to interpret it; nor is ſo much as made a Judge of the ſenſe, but of my Fact of taking or refuſing it? If this way be lawful, what if a Papiſt could find a Juſtice that would expound the Oath of Supremacy for the Pope? May he therefore take it? Is not the Law-maker the univerſal Expoſitor of his own Law; except for the Judicial deciſion of a particular Caſe which he committeth to his Judges? or can a Juſtice diſpenſe with equivocation in Oaths, and not a Pope? 5. I was but once yet ſent to Goal for refuſing that Oath, and then I told them that I refuſed it not, but deſired the Juſtices to tell me the ſenſe of it, which they refuſed, and ſaid I muſt take it according to the plain words, or importance of the

Phraſe, (which is the truth.) And yet you ſay, *Are they not ready*, &c. What wonder if Oaths go ſmoothly down, where there are ſuch Reſolvers? and if Books revile them that will not ſwear?

But here enſueth as confident a Rhetorical Invective againſt thoſe that ſcruple this kind of ſwearing, as if Logick firſt had done its part, or at leaſt one word of ſenſe had been ſpoken to ſatisfie the Conſcience of a Man that would not be ſtigmatized with *P E R.* And we muſt ſwear without any ſmoother Oyl to get it down, than ſuch talk as this, or elſe we muſt go with you for Men of *hot and feavoriſh Brains.* But *Swearers* we find have a *Heat* of their own kind, tranſcending others: Such as your Book and other Mens Actions have declared.

§. 42. I told you, [If you would put out the other Clauſes of the Oath, *&c.* you ſhould ſee how few would ſtick at that of taking Arms againſt the King.] Here you ſay, [*Why do I lay this on you*, &c.] *Anſw.* But Sir, you might have underſtood my Inference: Why then do you pretend a falſe Reaſon of our refuſal, when we tell you the true Reaſon? If you cannot put out the Clauſe which we refuſe, you could forbear to Calumniate us of Traiterous Meanings, as if we ſtuck at another Clauſe.

§. 43. When I desired the imposing of no other Oaths on us to Prelates or Chancellors, than were imposed or used for many hundred years in the Church, you tell us, That [*it may be schismatical to stand up too stifly for immediate Dispensations as to the Modes of External Policy*, &c.] *Answ.* 1. As some things not commanded in Modes of Church Policy are lawful, so some things are *unlawful*; or else you may swear to the Pope as well as to Diocesanes. And is it lawful to swear to the *unlawful* part think you? what that is I will not dispute with you. 2. All that is *lawful* to be *done*, is not to be sworn to, and made so necessary, as that a Church or Nation shall swear *never* to *endeavour any alteration* of it, when a Change of Divine Providence can turn many lawful things into unlawful. 3. But are we the great admirers of Antiquity, and yet must we have Oaths, even publick Oaths in the Church it self, and Matters so necessary, as that Ministers must be sworn to them, which the Church never knew for 800 years. Well! plead for Antiquity when it serves your turn, and when it makes against you cry it down. 4. If you will (among many others that have written, how the Pope got Princes under his feet, by imposing Oaths upon the Clergy) read but what Bishop *Carlton* saith of Jurisdiction, *Chap.* 7. and you will see one Reason why we are loth to swear to the Church Govern-

ment as totally unalterable, and that before the States.

§. 44. About Lay-Chancellors exerciſing the Spiritual Power of the Keys, and our ſwearing never to endeavour any alteration of it, you ſay, [*Me thinks a Perſon of your ingenuity ſhould reſt ſatisfied with that modeſt Declaration of our Rubrick, concerning the Cenſures of the Church, in the Preface to the Communion.*]

*Anſw.* Is there one Syllable in that Preface for juſtifying Lay-Chancellors uſe of the Keys? What need is there of Ingenuity to ſwallow an Oath upon ſuch ſatisfaction as this?

But you add, [*Do they do this of themſelves as Lay-men, or do they not? You ſee it is eaſie to puſh with the Horns, and to evince that you are either ignorant or abſurd: But I ſhall only remember you, that Lay-Chancellors excommunicate not as Lay-men; but by vertue of thoſe Surrogates who are Delegates for this purpoſe, originally by the Biſhop himſelf. This abſtraction is not too hard for you to conceive.*]

*Anſw.* We have *feaveriſh* and *skittiſh Brains* indeed, if all this Oyl will not get down Oaths. But come Sir, Horns againſt Horns is an ordinary way of combating. Theſe Lay-Chancellors either are Clergy-men, or they are not: If they are not, (as they are not) then they that excommunicate not as Lay-men, do it *as Clergy-men*, or not; if not as Lay-

men, nor as *Clergy-men*, as what then? If as *Clergy-men*, then they that are no Clergy-men may excommunicate *as Clergy-men*, or not: If not, all the Fat is in the Fire ſtill: If yea, then either they may act as in a Perſon which they have not, or not: If not, yet we cannot ſwear: If yea, then you are puſh'd up to a Stone Wall, and muſt deny two Principles: 1. That *operari ſequitur eſſe:* 2. That *a negatione eſt ſecundi adjecti, ad negationem eſt tertii adjecti, valet argumentum: Qui non eſt Clericus, non operatur qua Clericus.* 3. To which I may add a Moral Principle; *Non eſt mentiendum.*

But I have heard before now of Preaching, and other officiating *per ſe aut per alium.* But let us horn it with you a little further: Either the exerciſe of the Keys by excommunication is an Act proper to the Sacred Paſtoral Office, or it is not: If it be not, then Preaching, Praying, Sacraments, or ſome other Actions, are proper to it, or not: If *none* be proper to it, we are at the Wall of a Contradiction, for then it is no Sacred Office; but if ſomething be proper to it, that ſomething is more Sacred than the Power of Excommunication, or not: If not, then we are again at the Wall of a Contradiction: If they be equally Sacred, they are equally proper to the Sacred Paſtoral Office: If yea, then *Argumentum valet ab opere ad Officium*, the Office of a Biſhop as ſuch is

leſs Sacred than the Office of a Preſbyter: And either it is one half a Biſhops Work that may be done by a Lay-man, or all: If all, (Ordination and Juriſdiction or Cenſure) then a Lay-man may be a Biſhop, and a Biſhop a Lay-man; and ſo Epiſcopacy no Sacred Office. If half, 1. Either that half is included in the Keys of the Kingdom, given to Paſtors, or not: If not, then we are at a Wall; for, 1. It will prove no part of their Office or Power (as Biſhops or Paſtors.) 2. The word Keys will never be intelligible, if it include not the Power of Binding and Looſing; but if that half be included in the Power of the Keys, then either Chriſt, when he committed the Keys to the Clergy, did diſtinguiſh in that *one word*, and make one Act of the Keys proper to the Clergy, and not another, or he did not diſtinguiſh, but make the ſaid Keys wholly proper to them: If the former, what is the proof? where is the diſtinction found? there is none in the Words: If the latter, then *habetur quæſtium*; Excommunication is not to be done by a Lay-man; or elſe he made all the Keys communicable to the Laity; and then Baptiſm (which is the firſt Exerciſe of them Politically) is communicable, and then there is no Sacred Office.

Again, a Biſhop can excommunicate by a Preſbyter, as well as by a Lay-man, or not: If not, we are at a Wall: If yea, then a Preſbyter

byter may do the Work of a Biſhop, if a Biſhop pleaſe; and if ſo, then he may ordain alſo, if a Biſhop pleaſe; for why may not one Key be exerciſed *per alium*, as well as another? and if a Biſhop pleaſe, Preſbyters Ordination is valid.

Moreover, either the Biſhop may commit this Power to a Lay-Chancellor only *pro hac vice*, or ſtatedly as an Office. If the firſt, farewell Chancellors who have an Office of it. If the latter, then either to make a Man a Chancellor is to make him a Biſhop, or not: If yea, then ſpeak out, and call him not a Lay-man, but let him be ordained and conſecrated; if not, we are at a Wall again, and we muſt deny a Principle, *viz.* That they are the ſame things that have the ſame true definitions. For, (do but ſuppoſe the other half the Prelatical Work (Ordination) alſo to be done *per alium* in a ſtated way of Office, and he that doth it will have the ſame definition; that is, one in ſtated Office, authorized to ordain and exerciſe the Keys of Juriſdiction, or Abſolution and Excommunication: For the Office is nothing elſe but Authority and Obligation to do the proper Acts. In a word, Circumſtantials, *circa Sacra*, or Accidentals, may be done *per alium*, (as to call the People to Church, *&c.*) Acts proper to the Sacred Office (of Biſhop or Preſbyter) may not: Otherwiſe 1. Ordination or Conſecration cannot

be

be proved to be an entering into a Sacred Office; becauſe it tyeth us but to that which another may be tyed to without it; 2. or the Office which may be exerciſed *per alium* by a Lay-man, is not Sacred; and Epiſcopacy may be tranſlated into the Hands of the Laity, or rather is a Lay-Office already.

But what mean you by ſaying, That they *excommunicate by vertue of thoſe Surrogates*, &c. Do you mean that *Surrogates give* the Chancellor his Power? I knew not ſo much before, nor believe it now; or doth the Chancellor repreſent the Surrogate, and do it in his name? I am content to be ſtill ſo ignorant and abſurd, as to wiſh you had more conſulted the Honour of your Knowledge, than to talk at theſe rates. In my opinion, of the two you had taken a more plauſible way, if with your Brethren you had pretended, that taking down Chancellors (who are the ſtated Governours) is *no alteration* in the Church Government; or elſe that the ordinary Prieſt, who ſometime *pro forma* pronounceth the Sentence which the Chancellor decreeth, is the Excommunicator and Abſolver; and ſo ſay that a Preſbyter exerciſeth the Epiſcopal Office, rather than a Lay-man, (if we were not more jealous of the Preſbyters claim of right to it, than of the Lay-mans.) I pray take ſome of theſe ways the next time; or elſe do not rant too hotly againſt thoſe skittiſh hot-brained Men, that make

make a queſtion of ſwearing as boldly, and as deeply as you expect them. And teach them better than by Rhetorical Flouriſhes, how to confute the Seperatiſts, that ſay, [*A Perjured Clergy is not to be communicated with: But*,&c.] If I had no better anſwer for them than what you afford me, I would leave them to ſome that are more able to confute them: For with your Weapons I am unable.

And your ſaying they do it by vertue of the Surrogates, makes me queſtion by how many deſcents a Biſhops Power may be committed to others. Doth the Biſhop commit it to the Surrogate, and the Surrogate to the Chancellors, and the Chancellors to the Official? And what if it come down yet ten degrees more? Is it a Lay-work, or a Sacred Clergy-work at laſt, when it is *per alium, qui per alium, qui per alium*, &c.

If you ſhall ſay, that by the Surrogate you did mean either any Prieſt that doth pronounce the Sentence, or the Pariſh Prieſt that proclaimeth it in the Church; remember that it is neither Miniſterial pronouncing, nor Miniſterial proclaiming or reading it that we ſpeak of, but Judicial authoritative decreeing it; and that the Chancellor doth not excommunicate decretively by any vertue of the Prieſts pronuntiation or reading, which both follow after, and are done miniſterially in obedience to him: And that the Cryer that readeth the

Kings

Kings Proclamations is no Magiſtrate, much leſs one by vertue of whom the King doth make them.

§. 45. You add, [*I'le warrant, you have more kindneſs for Lay-Elders, if they were joyned with you in things Sacred: As Catechizing, Admiſſions to the Sacrament, and Cenſures of the Church.*]

*Anſw.* Your Warrants are ſo ready and raſh, that I know not well what it is that you may not warrant at theſe rates; or elſe you would not have warranted this to one that hath wrote ſo much againſt Lay-Elders, and never had any thing to do with them, (as Men that medled with any part of the Sacred Office, though Lay-Magiſtrates and Aged Men I honour.) I will not trouble the Churches Peace either againſt Lay-Elders or Lay-Chancellors; but I will be ſworn to neither of them as Uſers of the Keys.

But you think *this is but a Gnat in my way*; ſo wide is your Swearing-ſwallow, and ſo terrible to us Men of feaveriſh Heads, are your *things indifferent.*]

§. 46. You ſay, [*The Camel or* Belzebub *is Dioceſan Biſhops: The Epiſcopacy of Biſhop* Uſher *you are for.*]

*Anſw.* 1. *Quer.* Whether the Arch-biſhops and Biſhops in *Uſhers* Model be Dioceſanes or not? or whether the Game you play at be not ſelf-contradiction. 2. If ever I be a Biſhop, I ſhall

I ſhall bleſs my ſelf from ſuch a Defender as you, if you can defend no better than you do ſwearing to Church-Government by Lay-Chancellors.

§. 47. You ſay, [*You are kinder to Biſhops, for where there is one, I ſuppoſe you wiſh there were many hundreds; and if this were allowable, we that are* Minorum Gentium *(as to our own Intereſt) have no cauſe to oppoſe it: For then it may be, you and I might in ſome time of our Ages commence Biſhops.*]

*Anſw.* O for one Grain of ingenuity and modeſty in this kind of Men! The Debater reproacheth us in print for *blowing ſo long upon our Eccleſiaſtical Dignities before we refuſed them*; When I delayed my Anſwer but one day; and there were but three of us that had the offer of Biſhopricks, and two of Deanaries, that ever I heard of: And *one* did almoſt as ſoon accept it, as I refuſed it: And the third (Mr. *Calamy*) and the two other, only delayed till they ſaw whether the Kings Declaration about Eccleſiaſtical Affairs would be eſtabliſhed by an Act; and refuſed when they ſaw it at end. And I was ſo afraid of the odious Crime of Ingratitude, that I was fain to give the Reaſons of my refuſal, as eaſily as I could, in writing to the Lord-Chancellor, leſt it ſhould ſavour of undervaluing the favour offered. And I ſcarce ever talk'd of it to any to this day, unleſs in anſwer to a queſtion, leſt I ſhould ſeem to be

unthank-

unthankful; yet can we not have reſt in ſilence for this ſort of Men! while all my fear was, leſt my refuſal would be too diſpleaſing, and caſt me under more diſcountenance than before; ſometime I hear out of the Pulpit, (from a grave Doctor known to you) when no Non-conformiſt but my ſelf is preſent, that *the reaſon why we diſlike Biſhops is, becauſe we cannot be Biſhops our ſelves*, (and yet I ceaſed not hearing the Accuſer:) And here you Sarcaſtically inſinuate ſome ſuch thing; which alloweth me again to wiſh for one Grain of ingenuity in you.

§. 48. You add, [*Magis & Minus non variant ſpeciem.*] *Anſw.* That is only in Subſtances, where the different quantities are all conſiſtent with the Form: But not in Relative Beings, where difference of Quantity may change the Subject, and ſo the Relation, as *Keckerman* might have taught you, *Log. de Relat.* in the Inſtance of a Ship. Doth your Logick teach us, that the People of a *whole Nation* may be but a *Family*, (a *vicus vel pagus!* or that a *ſingle perſon* may be a *Kingdom* or a *Family*) becauſe *magis & minus non variant ſpeciem?* Would your Spoon be a Spoon if it were as big as a Church, or your Church be a Church if it were no bigger than a Spoon? Is a Troop, a Regiment, and one Army of the ſame Species? or if all the Captains and Collonels were put dowu,

and

and the General would be the ſole Ruler of the Army, were there no change of the *Species* of any of the Government? If all the School-maſters in the Dioceſs were put down, or turned only into Monitors, except one general Dioceſane School-maſter, would it not vary the Species of School and School-maſters? Is a Chriſtian Society united for Perſonal Communion in Gods Worſhip of the ſame Species with a thouſand ſuch Societies, united in one Dioceſan Head, which can have no perſonal preſent Communion as never ſeeing one another? Enjoy your Logick: I am contented with the diſhonour of being no Graduate in the Univerſity, that teacheth thus, and ſo applyeth it.

§. 49. You ſay, [ *If Biſhop* Uſher *were now alive, he would give you but ſmall thanks for preſſing his Model of Epiſcopacy, (if his) now the King and Laws are reſtored, which he only calculated, as that which could be born by the iniquity of the later times.* ]

*Anſw.* 1. That the Model was his, he told me with his own Tongue. 2. That he thought better of it than of that which you ſet againſt it, and did not offer it as a leſs deſirable thing, appeareth by the Reaſons which he giveth for it, from Antiquity, and from the nature of the Paſtoral Office, to which he ſaith, a part in the Keys or Diſcipline belongeth: And he took this to be the true ancient frame of Go-

vernment uſed for many hundred year after Chriſt, and to be the true means of our union: And he told me, that he offered it his Majeſty before the War, and it was not accepted, and after the War, and then it might have paſſed. And in conference with me he came lower than that Model, as the *Minimum* that might ſerve for our agreement, which I mentioned publickly to the Parliament, in my Sermon the day before the Kings Reſtoration was voted by them, (printed by their Order.) And he told me, *That moderate Men would unite on thoſe terms, but he had tryed that others would not.*

2. But what is there in that Model that is ſo intolerable now? Is one tittle taken from the Biſhops or Arch-biſhops Honour? Is one farthing taken by it from their Eſtates? Is any of their Power or Negative Voice taken away? or is not the ſtated Miniſtry only made their Preſbytery inſtead of a few uncertain Preſbyters, that muſt be preſent when they ordain, and inſtead of the preſent Form of ſome Courts, *&c.* O humble Clergy-men, that take this for more intolerable than all the contrary evils that we undergo! Diſhonour not our Church ſo as to tell Forreigners, That to be *reduced to ſuch an Epiſcopal Government by Biſhops with their Presbyters, as was commonly in uſe for ſix hundred years at leaſt, as that which could be born by the iniquity of the latter times, but cannot be born by the Clergy now, if it pleaſed His Majeſty*

*Majeſty ſo to order it:* But miſtake me not; I only ſpeak of *Ushers* Model: I do not now ſpeak againſt the Government, nor plead for a Change; for the Law forbiddeth me.

As to what you ſay concerning *Ushers Notes on* Ignatius *concerning the diviſion of* Aſia, I ſuppoſe you ſhould have ſaid, *His Notes on* Ignatius, *and his Diſcourſe of the Proconſular* Aſia, which are two Books, (if you knew the Books you talk of:) But I know very well that he ſuppoſed Epiſcopacy to have been before the ſecond Century; but the queſtion is, what ſort of Epiſcopacy? and that Queſtion his Model doth reſolve.

§. 50. To all that you talk after on this Subject, I cannot find in my heart to trouble my ſelf with any other Anſwer, than to tell you, that all you ſay is utterly impertinent to thoſe you write of, and ſheweth that you do not at all underſtand the Caſe of the preſent Non-Conformiſts, nor the ſtate of the Controverſie.

§. 51. But about ſwearing Obedience to the Biſhops, you ſay; 1. *It is but in* Licitis & Honeſtis: 2. *That of old Presbyters have been obedient to their Biſhops under the Penalty of an Anathema.*

*Anſw.* 1. The Queſtion is not only of *Swearing to obey them*, but *ſwearing never to endeavour any alteration of Church-Government.* 2. The King himſelf is to be obeyed but *in licitis & honeſtis*: And muſt we be ſworn as

much to the Clergy as to the King? 3. Thoſe that think the *Engliſh* Species of Dioceſanes to be unlawful, take them to be *quoad jus divinum* Uſurpers: And they ſay, they would not ſwear to obey the Pope *in licitis & honeſtis*, nor *Cromwel* if he were alive, leſt it prove Treaſon againſt the true Sovereign, to ſwear Obedience to an Uſurper, even *in licitis & honeſtis*. And how impertinently do you ſpeak of *Presbyters Obedience*, *ſub pœna Anathematis*, when I only ſpake of *antecedent ſwearing* to them. (Nay not *to them*, but to Men of *another Office*, though of the *ſame name*.) Are we not now under Anathema's enough in the Canons if we obey not? Yet how little have you heard the Non-Conformiſts ſay againſt thoſe Canons theſe eleven years? (I mean ſuch as have ever publickly agitated their Cauſe.) If *you Anathematize* me *unjuſtly*, it is none of *my ſin*: But if I *ſwear unjuſtly*, it is my ſin. I can *obey* many a Man that I cannot *ſwear obedience to*: He that taketh away my Coat, may have my Cloak alſo; and if you bid me go a Mile for you, I may rather go two, than do worſe: And we muſt ſubmit our ſelves to one another; but yet I will not ſwear Obedience to all that I may thus obey. And I may obey a Juſtice or Conſtable as my duty; and yet not ſwear to the perpetuity of their Office, and that before the Kings: But if Obedience under pain of Anathema ſerved above a thouſand years, without

out ſwearing it, why may it not ſerve turn now? Are new Oaths neceſſary to be ſworn by us to the Clergy, which never were neceſſary till of late? You mean not I perceive, that Antiqnity or Univerſality ſhall be the Character of your Church or Impoſitions: Nor to ſtand to *Lerinenſis* Teſt, (*quod ab omnibus, ubiq; ſemper*, &c.)

If we may neither have *Ignatius* his Epiſcopacy *in ſpecie*, nor be under ſuch Bonds only as *Ignatius* ſpeaks for, without ſuch Oaths as he never mentioned, it is ſelf-condemnation for you to cite the words of *Ignatius*.

§. 52. You ſay, [*Mr.* Cartwright *wrangled himſelf at laſt into Conformity.*] *Anſw.* It is not well done of you to write Hiſtorical untruths ſo boldly: You have no way to come off, but either to ſay ſome body told you ſo, or that by Conformity you mean that he ſeparated not from the Pariſh Churches, which he never did, or that he was favourable to kneeling at Sacrament, and not peremptory againſt the Surplice, into none of which he wrangled but ſtudyed himſelf: And, ſaith *Ameſius*, retracted his moderation about the Surplice: But did he conform to *Dioceſanes*, to *Subſcription*, to *the Oath of Canonical Obedience*, *to the Croſs*, &c. How is the World abuſed by falſe Hiſtorians? Thus one of my Antagoniſts chargeth him (after *Suttliffe*) with acquaintance with *Hackets* Villany, and other ſuch

things, from which he ſo fully vindicateth himſelf in a Manuſcript of his own, which I have by me, ( given me by old Mr. *Simeon Aſh* ) as may make the Reader wonder at the hardened front of Calumny?

§. 53. When you ſay, [you *will ſecure me*] about the Oath, I have no confidence in your ſecurity, till I ſee it to be better back'd, than your bare word with a fallacious unlike ſuppoſed Simile. When I muſt ſubſcribe and ſwear, That [ *I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of Government in this Army, Colledge, Univerſity or Corporation, nor of the State,* ] putting them conjunct with the State, and before it, and not excepting, [ *unleſs the King command me to endeavour it,* ] then I ſhall better conſider of your ſecurity. Till then you do but ſuppoſe me to ſee no difference between things moſt different.

§. 54. Who is it that hath done moſt *to drive People from the Pariſh Churches,* I am ſatisfied by experience. And whether all ſuch Diſſenters *are ſuch Children of Hell* as you deſcribe, I ſhall leave to a more wiſe and righteous Judge.

§. 55. To write a full and juſt defence of that Non-conformity, which I own according to the importunity of your Book, would take up much time, and the Volume would be great, and I have not ſo much time to ſpare, unleſs I ſaw a probability of ſome better effect

than

than is like to arise from *my putting it into your Hands*, as now you motion.

If my Stile suited to your Matter be displeasing, review your Book, and retract the culpable part which is the cause, and you will have less cause to repent of your Repentance, than of your Impenitency. If as you say you are under affliction, I hope it will help you to do as my long afflictions have partly done by me, even to judge of Persons, Things and Causes, as one that daily waiteth for the time, when he and all shall be judged of God.

I rest, though your plain and faithful Monitor, yet a true desirer of your well-fare.

*July* 4. 1671.

# AN ANSWER TO Mr. *Baxter*'s third Letter.

*SIR*,

YOu lay a very ſandy Foundation in your very firſt words; *you foretell (ſay you) how little good my writing will do you; yet the Vindication of Truth is an End ſufficient to invite me to beſtow a few Lines upon you.* Do you call five Sheets a few Lines? Are theſe written to vindicate the Truth? Yet I muſt tell a Man of your gravity, (though with bluſhing) that Truth has no communion with Falſhood, nor Light with Darkneſs. Where did I *foretell you*, that *your writing ſhould do me but little good*? I have told you to the contrary, that if you could evince your Hypotheſis, *that Conformity is abſolutely ſinful*; I would quit my ſtation, and come over into your

your Camp. Nay, when you had inform'd me, (as to ſome Paſſages in the *Savoy* Conference) I return'd you my thanks. Is not this an inauſpicious and ominous Preſage, what is like to follow? A Line crook'd at hand, will never be ſtraight, though drawn (if poſſible) *in infinitum.* Speak the truth your ſelf, before you accuſe me for an *unworthy Oppoſer of the Truth.* What delight had I, think you, to ruſh into the midſt of your Pikes? and to put my Hand into an Hornets Neſt? But only to extricate Truth, and redeem it (as thoſe *Argonauts* did the Golden Fleece) from the midſt of waking Dragons; that it may be try'd whether *I and others do ſin in Conforming*, by the dint of Scripture and ſound Reaſon. Some would call this a generous Enterprize proceeding from tenderneſs; but you call it *an unworthy oppoſing of Truth; coming from Calumny, and an hardened Front.* One Grain or Filing of Truth is more precious to me than all the Gold of Ophir; if it lay in the bottom of the Sea, I had rather fetch it thence, than all the Pearls and Coral, which the ſaviſh *Indians* venture for with ſo much hazard. No Man can do me a greater favour, than to reduce me from any by-way of Errour. *Et Officium meum impliſſe arbitror, ſi labor meus aliquos homines ab erroribus liberatos, ad Iter Cœleſte direxerit.* Who would have thought but that

*Lactantius de Opificio, Ca. 21.*

you

you who affirm, *that Conformity is simply sinful*, should have brought some clear Texts of Scripture to prove this, or shewn some express divine Law which is violated hereby? So you might have brought the Controversie to an Issue. This had been the most dexterous course, to have overthrown the very fundamental Principle whereon I stand; which is, That I owe submission to the Ordinances and Constitutions of my lawful Governours, so far as they are suitable to, or not repugnant or contrariant to the Word of God. But instead hereof, you write large Encomiums, and Panegyricks on the Non-conformists, reproach the present Preachers, stumble at *Diocesan Bishops*, *Lay-Chancellors*, and the *Oath of not taking up Arms*, yet in none of these will you take up your standing, by saying this or the other is absolutely sinful: So that you are still widing the Breach, cutting out new Work, and putting up new Game; which is nothing else but a rambling from the first Subject of the Dispute: Yet I must follow you, or rather be drag'd and hail'd after you, as the Serpents Head in the Fable, when the Tail had the leading and conduct of it. Only let me tell you, whereas you complain of my *Rhetorical Diversions*, I wish you were liable to the same Guilt; for then you would not write so much with so much ease, if you did but slick and polish your Lines as you go.

§. 1. *What*

§. 1. *What a wonder of ſelf-ignorance is it, that the Author of the* Perſwaſive *ſhould draw up the Flood-gates of Sarcaſtical ſcorn upon ſo many and ſuch Men, and yet be ſo ſenſible of a drop of juſt reproof?*

Had you been train'd up in *Alexanders* Army, you might have felt his diſcipline for railing rather than fighting, for giving a Book hard words, when you ſhould have confuted it with convincing Arguments; or had you been brought up at the feet of ſome *Gamaliel*, you might have learn'd, that a general Charge is no ſufficient Anſwer, and that a Book cannot be faulty, as you make it, when the Pages are not ſo; as a Man is not leprous, when all his Members are whole and ſound. I ſhould not fear to lay *Bellarmine* himſelf on his back, if it were enough to nick-name his Writings with ſome unmanly taunt. I am not a little confirm'd, that my Book is innocent, in that you (though you ſpeak big) deal as kindly with it as *Jonathan* did with *David*, when he hid himſelf by the Stone *Ezel*, you ſhoot your Arrows on this ſide and on that; but you have taken more care than to hit it. I might well complain *of your Drops*, (*as you call them*) for they made me to ſmart, as if there had been Poiſon in them. Can you blame me for laying them before you, that you may ſee, if not bluſh at their malignant Aſpect; and if one *drop* be ſo painful, what if you ſhould

pour

pour one of your *ſpoonfuls as big as a Church upon me*?

As for the Title of *Self-ignorance* which you apply to me, I have taken that up, and put it into my Pocket. We'l raiſe no duſt about that; only I muſt obſerve, 'tis hard to be Head of a Party, and to be humble, and forbear contemptuous ſcorn towards thoſe that ſtand in their way, and do not vail their Bonnets to ſuch Popular Rabbies.

§. 2. *After ſuch a Book, you would not be ſaid to traduce the Presbyterians, as if you wrote you know not what.*

I well knew what I wrote, for I never named them in that whole Book: Yet if they be guilty of Non-conformity and Diſobedience, (in our Caſe I make but little difference 'twixt theſe) I mean them. However, your Application to a particular Rank of Men, of what was ſpoken to the Non-conformiſts in general, is a tranſgreſſion from the Laws of Diſcourſe. Who gave you Commiſſion to make an Incloſure of that which lay in Common? or to limit my meaning without Authority from my words? You cannot be ignorant that there are other Non-conformiſts beſides theſe that are Claſſical, and ſuch that not long ſince were the more predominant, and ſuch that will not conform now to the Church of *England*; yet could then dance after the Pipes of thoſe grand Maſters.

There

There were but few who were not then *tantum non* Independents; and are they all now of a ſudden become *Presbyterians*? ſure they are like the Elements, which agree in ſecond qualities, they are eaſily exchanged one into another.

§. 3. *When I had opened your ſtrange dealing in calling for our Reaſons of Non-conformity, which you knew we muſt not publiſh, you can neither hide your diſingenuity, nor well confeſs it.*

Conviction, you know, muſt go before Confeſſion; *you ſay indeed you have opened my ſtrange dealing*; but if what you hitherto ſaid *be called opening*, 'tis like the publiſhing of *Ariſtotles* Phyſicks, *Editum, & non Editum.* What you *have opened* is ſtill abſtruſe and myſtical to me. *Is it ſtrange dealing, and diſingenious, to call for the Reaſons of Non-conformity? ſince you ſay you cannot conform without ſin?* Is it diſingenious to learn of you where the ſin lies, that we may avoid it? I know not to this day why you may *not publiſh ſuch Reaſons*: I am ſure you take liberty to publiſh things of as dangerous conſequence; yet you would make Men believe that you muſt not write on this Subject, leſt you *ſhould traduce the Government*; yet you dare traduce the Writ *de Excommunicato Capiendo*, in the difference 'twixt the Magiſtrates and the Church-Paſtors, *P.* 19, 27, 39, 40, 41, *&c.* Alas!

Alas! the Church-Censurers, without the Civil Arm, are but *Brutum fulmen*; yet that Writ is incorporated into our Law. Is it not better that the Civil Magistrate should take the excommunicated Person in hand, than that he should be delivered over unto Satan and visible Judgments; which in the Primitive Times followed *Anathema*, and *Maranatha*?

*Rushw.* P. 202. Before King *Charles* the first, High Sheriffs took an Oath to assist and be helpful to all Ordinaries and Commissioners of Holy Church, as often as should be required. You *dare affirm, that Pastors have the sole power of Discipline; and he that exercises an Authority over his Neighbours Churches, is an Usurper: Is not this to traduce Government?*

Difference betwixt Magistrates and Pastors, 35, p. 36. You *dare say, that Kings may not be excommunicated, unless perhaps in some rare Case; pray who shall be Judges of that Case?* You rightly observe the tendency of the Romanists Doctrine in that Particular. I will not say you leave a gap open for the same end.

*Ibid.* 38. *Ibid.* 45. You *dare say, that Magistrates forbidding faithful able Ministers to preach the Christian Faith, where there are not enough more to do the Work, sin hainously against Christ and the Souls of Men.*

You

*You dare ſay, that Lay-Chancellors are ſuch a ſort of Church-Government, that you will never ſwear not to endeavour to alter it; yet I am diſingenious to call for your Reaſons of Non-conformity.* Ibid. 46.

Once more, *you dare joyn Popery and Church-tyranny together, and 'tis eaſie to diſcern who you mean by Church-tyrants.* You dare ſpeak *againſt a lofty Faction, that perſwade the People that there muſt be no King any longer than their Dominion is upheld: Such as ſhall twiſt the very grandure of their Function, by Oaths, into the Conſtitution of the State. Tell me no more that I am diſingenious in deſiring your Reaſons of Non-conformity; for then you ſhould traduce Government.*

§. 4. *In my laſt I nam'd ſome palpable Contradictions; but you paſs them by in ſilence.*

Had you ſhewed me one Contradiction properly called ſo, you ſhould have ſeen *I would not have waſted my Ink* in any other things, before I had acknowledged my inadvertency. 'Tis like a Female Impotency, to reſolve to have the laſt word with whom ſoever we contend. This is like *Valentine* and *Orſon* and *Knights Errant*, that boaſt of Battels and Victories in ſuch Fields where they never drew Sword, and ſlew ſuch Enemies who never were *in rerum natura*. 'Tis true, I did contradict you; but this muſt not paſs for a culpable Contradiction; ſhew me any one, and you ſhall have another

Anſwer;

Answer; in the mean time your Atchievments shall pass for a Rodomantado Ostentation.

*You deal craftily in speaking interrogatively, for a Question cannot be false.*

Some Lines before *you accus'd me of Ignorance, and now of Craft*: Are not you often *guilty of the same Craft, by arguing frequently by way of Question?* But Sir, consider your *Dogmatical Aphorism*; Cannot a Question be false? What think you of this? *Will you cease to preach false Doctrine, and slander your Brethren?* Are not negative and affirmative Interrogations in Scripture equivalent to plain Negations and Affirmations? nay do not they *vehementius negare & affirmare?* If you will be coining more Aphorisms, you should examine them better before you obtrude them on others.

§. 5. *I had said that of those* 1800 *silent Ministers, how many of them have much more learning than your* English *Books have taught them?* You reply, *Do you mean good Mr.* Sam. Hildersham, *Mr.* Fisher, *Mr.* Brian, *Mr.* Wilsby, *Mr.* Reignolds, *Mr.* Baldwin *Sen*, *or Mr.* Spilsbury.

You have reckon'd up several of my Neighbours, but not all, if you would put me upon the proof of my words, you should have given me leave to be my own Accountant: It is Answer enough to your arguing; you have rekon'd without your Host. I could give you another

another Liſt of ſuch Men that have leap'd out of their mechanical Shops into the Pulpit. If theſe had learning enough to paſs your Hands in Ordination, yet were they well examin'd, they would ſcarce be found fit to teach a petty School, or be Interpreters to ſome *Latin* Mendicant.

As for thoſe Perſons you mention, I have as much eſteem for them, as you can have; but not for their Non-conformity; yet for their gravity, ſobriety, learning, peaceableneſs. May not I ſay that *Abraham* was the Father of the Faithful, and *David* a Man after Gods own Heart? though the one was puſillanimous in *Ægypt*, and the other had his falls? May not I ſay that *Venus* was beautiful, though ſhe had her Mole? But this is a uſual Stratagem with you, to poſſeſs particular Perſons with an opinion, that I detract from them, though I named them not. As this is bad arguing, —— *Syllogizare ex particulari*, ſo 'tis worſe Morality. Thoſe which I intended have your ſuffrage. *You had rather hear a meer* Engliſh *Divine, than an* Hebrew *or* Syriack *Sot.* You are, I ſee, for the liberty of propheſying; 'tis a queſtion whether you are more for Blew Aprons or the Prieſthood. What Fanatick could have ſpoken more ſlightly of the Univerſities than you have done? *'Tis no very great Honour to our young Preachers, that they have been acquainted with the Univerſities.*

Speak out! Are not you of their mind? who said that the Congregation was Holy, and that *Moses* and *Aaron* took too much upon them? Although you are so happy as to be αὐτοδίδακτος, and dry-nurse your self into a Gigantick Stature, without sucking the Breast of our Mother the University, or being dandled on her Knees; though you sprang up like those αὐτόχθωνες, (who first inhabited some Countries) we know not how; yet forbear to Eclipse those two Luminaries, which are as useful to our *English* World, as the Sun and Moon in the Firmament: God has wonderfully preserved them from Anabaptists, and other furious Sectaries, in times of Anarchy, who were wrathfully displeased at them: Yet they could not find their Hands; but, as *Agamemnon*, when he was hampered in his *vestis* Ἄπειρος, -- *Casside vinctus incassum furit.* Or like the *Sodomites*, though never so near, yet could not find out the door of *Lot*. So God did restrain these boisterous Waves, when they made sure of overwhelming the Nurseries of Learning and Piety. Do not you think now to undermine them with any *Ismalitish* scorns.

Had you been planted and cultivated in those Seminaries, you might have brought forth more kindly and mature Fruit; and you might have avoided those Rocks and Shelves, against which you have both dash'd your self and the Church.

You

You deal no better with the Primitive Fathers of the Church, than you do with the Universities. *It is no great matter to be acquainted with them. I count it so short a Work to read the few brief Writers of the three first Centuries.*

Is this so easie a Work? yet how shall they do it, who understand not their Language? They had need agree with some such as Dr. *Holland*, to translate them into their Mother Tongue. I will tell you what I heard in the University; A grave Dr. in the Divinity School proved the Proposition denyed, with —— *Sic dicunt omnes Patres*; but Dr. *Prideaux* gave him his Check, —— *Tune legisti omnes Patres?* I have been acquainted with the Studies, and therein with the preposterous Method of some amongst you. They began with *Calvin* and some of the *German* Divines, and so read downwards; but when their minds have been prepossessed with prejudicate thoughts towards our Government, and Discipline, then (if urged thereto) they have step'd back many hundred years, and read some of the Fathers. But alas! It has been only to wrest and deprave them; to weed something out of them, whereby they may δελεύειν ὑποθήκην. Just as you read *Hooker*, *Bilson*, *Andrews*, *Heylin*, &c.

After you had in *this Paragraph highly extoll'd the Knowledge, Utterance, Piety and Diligence even of the lowest rank of Non-conformists,*

*you come to throw about you whole loads of dirt; that so you may blacken and depreciate the present Ministers: Such as lace their insipid, empty, senseless discourse with shreds of* Chalde, Arabick, *and* Syriack. Hebrew *Sots, such as ignorantly abuse Scripture, prate against they know not what; School-boys saying their Lessons; Lads that talk at such a rate, as they go nigh to drive you from the Church. They are often in the Ale-house; what they preach is dead and cold, so that Patrons seeking to you to motion them Teachers, you find it hard to find a Man that hath the abilities of the lowest sort of Non-conformists. And you are now come to this, that you prefer Homilies and Common-prayer before our Pulpit-work.*

I see that it is difficult to forbear reproaches towards them from whom we differ; or not to build our own reputation upon the ruine of other Mens Names. Does this savour of humility in preferring our selves before others? If this judging and condemning be from the Spirit, I must tell you, *You know not of what Spirit you are of.* I heard a grave Minister say formerly, I thank God, I never heard a Sermon, but I could get something by it; if the Sermons which you hear be insipid, examine your Palate, and the Anfractuous Passages of your own Ears; something may be amiss there. Cast away prejudice, purge out the Yellow Jaundice of partiality: Do not espouse

eſpouſe a Party; but put on Catholick Charity. It may be you may taſt more ſweetneſs, and ſee more comelineſs in the Sermons you hear. St. *Paul* could ſay, *Whether in pretence, or in truth, Chriſt is Preached, and I rejoyce and will rejoyce.* But as you complain of the Miniſters, juſt ſo did *Martin-mar-prelate* traduce the regular Clergy in his days; calling them Boys, Dolts, Lads, Drunkards, *&c.* from whence *Brown* did not only take an occaſion of his ſeparation; but Sir *Edwin Sandys affirms*, that even at *Rome* there was uſe made of thoſe ſcandalous Aſperſions. What your deſign is herein, I will not divine. But 'tis well obſerv'd, that ſome complain of abuſes; not that they may be redreſſed; but by diſparaging the State, they may make way for their own Diſcipline: They wound the Civil State through the Eccleſiaſtick. King *James*, in his Speech to the Parliament *Ann* 18. of his Reign, ſpake like an Angel, or like himſelf; That thoſe that make themſelves popular by recounting grievances, have the Spirit of the Devil. Juſt ſo did *Abſalom* ſteal away the Hearts of the People. —— There is none appointed by the King. —— O that I were made King in *Iſrael*!

*Phil.* 1. 18.

*Heylin* of the Presb. *p.* 181, 182.

*Ibid.* 35.

Did theſe *prating Lads, with their* Hebrew, Chalde, Arabick *Shreds, come out of your*

*Shool, they should* have been stroaked for precious Youths. Then it should have been said as formerly; when young Birds come abroad unfledg'd, and with their Shells on their heads; *Out of the mouths of Babes and Sucklings hast thou ordained Strength, because of thine Enemies.*

I hope it is not a crime to learn other Languages than what our Mothers taught us, especially such as are even necessary for the very right understanding of Scripture. The time was, when 'twas almost Heretical, I had almost said Antichristian, and resembling the Beast, to make any use of those Tongues. Sure you are not so nice as to run out of the Church, as if you were frighted with Babylonish Trumpets, when you hear a little *Hebrew* in the pulpit: If such Linguists do not reach the abilities of the lowest sort of the Non-conformists; what Seraphick Angelical Doctors are those amongst you of the highest Hierarchy?

If you were better acquainted with the University, you might find most hopeful Men both for Learning and Integrity of Life (if you do not dislike them because they have their breeding there) to supply such *Patrons as have recourse to you for Teachers*; and it may be too you would be a propitious Angel to put them into good Livings, if they would make their Humble Addresses unto you. It seems though you have no Rectory of your own,

own, you can gratifie your Friends. As the Earl of *Warwick* took more pleasure in making another Man King, than being so himself. Do not stop their way to preferment, because they shew their Parts in their first Essayes; in the Eloquent Efforts of their Oratory. Such Colts as trot high at the first, may at long-running become good Pad-naggs. We were Children before we were strong Men; *Hercules* had not all his vigour at once: You will betray less Judgment than they, if nothing will please you in a young Divine below the skill and dexterity of an old *Chrysostome*. *As for those amongst us who are Sots, as you say, and spend their time in Ale-houses, I am no Proctor for them, sighs and groans shall be all my Answer:* Yet if I would recriminate, I could point out some of your own Minions that might bear them company. *All your* 1800 *are not clear from such stains.*

But since you have now so good opinion of the *Common-prayer and Homilies*, I see Mens Judgments will vary as well as Fashions. He that durst have said so formerly, should scarce have any Place in the Church: As *Hazael* once thought he should not have been so inhumane as to rip up Women with Child, *&c.* So you little thought heretofore, that you should ever have spoke so favourably of the *Common-prayers and Homilies*: Therefore it is not good (you see) to drive on too furiously, according to

our present apprehensions, without long deliberation. But I have something else to observe: —— Some Men are so much afraid of moderation and a mediocrity, that whilst they avoid one Extream, *in contraria currunt*. You impose a Task on me, to tell you, *What one Nonconformist was silenc'd for insufficiency*: You might have forborn this; unless you could have grounded it on my words, as my Assertion. But 'tis usual with you to wave the subject Matter of Contest, and to move impertinent Doubts: As if he that has to do with you must answer *Quodlibets*. The grand reason of your silence is of another nature: You do not give security to Authority; that you will preach up no more Wars; and carry your selves like obedient Subjects, and peaceable Ministers of the Gospel: Until you do so, you are suspended from the exercise of that Ministry. When *Marchiomont Needham* wrote a Book to entitle the Protector to all the Revenues of the Church; and that it was in his Power to admit whom he pleas'd to partake thereof. This was good Doctrine in the days of the Tryars; they imbrac'd it as the foundation of their arbitrary Power. But now there is a Shibboleth of Peace and Loyalty to be pronounced by all those that will practise in the Ministerial Calling. You either lisp it out in distinctions, or cry out of Tyranny: So that your Question is a Fallacy, a *non Causa ut Causa*, putting *in-*

*sufficiency*

*ſufficiency* for the Cauſe, when in truth it was quite another thing.

*You ask me again, whether the worſt of thoſe that joyned with you, being re-ordained, are not received when they do conform?*

If *they were not the worſt among you, who do conform, no doubt you think them ſo?* yet I could name ſome, who were of the chief Rank, who ſo far have denied themſelves, as to draw forth their Breaſts to feed the Hungry. Sure they did not ſee with your Eyes, *that Conformity is abſolutely ſinful.*

Now Sir, If *the worſt among you are received when they Conform*; what a ſhame is it that you and others of the higher Rank ſhould ſtand idle in the Market-place? whilſt you ſuffer God to be ſerv'd with your Bran; the Blind and the Lame (it ſeems) are good enough for your Heavenly Prince; and you may ſee how favourable and indulgent the Governours of the Church are, in that they are loath to diſparage your Judgments, in rejecting thoſe whom you had approved.

After I had deducted out of the groſs Sum of 1800 thoſe that had been neſted in other Mens Livings; 1. *You faintly demand,* —— *How many of theſe were never in any Sequeſtrations, and muſt not they preach the Goſpel?* Yes, both they and the others too; and woe unto them, if they do not. There is never a Cherubim with a drawn Sword in his hand

to keep them out of the Churches Paradise: 2. You give up the Cause, and say ingeniously, *I deny not the great Crime you charge upon them. Yet as if you repented of your own Concession, you say, that many of those that were turned out formerly were accus'd of insufficiency and gross scandal.* So hard a thing is it, fully, and without reserves, to acknowledge a fault. The Serpent was *Eve's* Cloak, and the Woman *Adam's*: Nay, God himself must be reflected on, (the Woman whom *Thou* gavest) before *Adam* will be silent, and have nothing to say. You know that *the insufficiency and scandal of many of them was, that their Consciences* could not dispense with their former Oaths, in asserting of an ungodly Cause; yet had they been as vile as you can make them, their Freeholds ought not to be taken from them illegally. Then 3. *you vindicate your self, as if I had aim'd at you*: When the truth is, I had not the least thought of you. I must do you so much justice, as to say, —— I have heard you dealt transcendently civilly with the Incumbents, in comparison of many whom I knew; and since you speak of these things with some regret, I will not (like a Coward) press and prosecute this advantage. I have touch'd this Sore very softly, that you may not smart. Here you chide me for minding you of a Retalliation; as you supplanted others, so God requited you. *Does this* (*say you, savour of*

any

*any ſenſe at all to Souls? Muſt many Thouſands go to Hell, that we may be requited? The Peoples Souls had been forſaken: The Damnation of a multitude of Souls is too dear a price*, &c.

1. It is no up-ſtart practice to ſoar high in Pretences, and yet with the Raven and the Kite, have our Eyes fix'd on ſome Carcaſs here below. We have heard ſome cry loud, the Temple of the Lord,—— the Salvation of Souls: Yet they were not the Souls of every Soil; ſuch as did inhabit poor Villages, but ſuch as dwelt in the fatteſt Parſonages, or elſe in great Towns, where theſe Men, who were ſo much for the good of Souls, might act their parts with moſt popularity and ſucceſs, both in reſpect of themſelves and the Cauſe.

2. What good was done to Souls by theſe Intruders, late Poſterity will find. Thoſe unquiet Principles which were then inſtill'd, will not be worn out in one Age; nor thoſe Breaches and Gaſhes in the Church, made by them, be cemented and heal'd by the Hands of the moſt skilful *Bezaliels*, or Spiritual Chirurgeons of the higheſt value.

3, The good of Souls is a moſt glorious aim; yet St. *Auſtin* held it not good to tell a lie *to ſave a Soul.* Much leſs may we preach down lawful Authority, and plunder others, living under *the pretext of the good of Souls.* This has been an old contrivance in *Scotland*,

to

King *James* his Answer to the Petition of Parliament. *Rushw. P.* 49.

to bring all Causes within the Kirks Jurisdiction, saying it is the Churches Office to judge of slander; and by that means they hook'd in the cognisance of all Causes, because all Causes were either Slanders against God, the King, or their Neighbours. In *Rome* too the Pope intermeddles with all Temporal Things *in Ordine ad Spiritualia.* Just so you plead for Arms; starving Men, Women, and Children; *If it be for the good of Souls.* You say that they *had a fifth part*; yet you know Mr. *Lea* endeavoured to dismount that Ordinance, as unlawful and unreasonable; and some I am sure for very want were ready to swoon in the Streets; the number was not small. It has been maintain'd, that more Ministers were depriv'd in three years, when your Friends sate at the Sern, than in all Queen *Mary*'s Reign.

I thank you that you say, *you never lik'd turning out such a Man as my self*: You are more propitious than the Commissioners were, who threatned to silence me for preaching on *Christmas*-day. The Tryars were not of your mind; they would not have had me to preach at all, and the Soldiers would scarce let me live: I still bear about me the Badges of their Cruelty. But tell me true; should you re-assume your Chair, would you continue in this courteous Moode?

You

You ſay you *lived under five ignorant and unlearned Teachers before you were ten years old. You complain elſewhere of the prophaneſs of your Native Town.* You had hard fate to live amongſt ſuch Men; yet the greater is your excellency to thrive into ſo poliſh'd a bulk, among ſuch Barbarians, and to keep your integrity amidſt ſuch temptations. I cannot but admire at your *Præcox Ingenium*, *that you could judge (you began betimes) who were ignorant, who learned Preachers, before you were ten years of age.* I fear 'tis ſtill the greateſt part of ſome Mens devotion to cenſure the Parts and Gifts of the Preacher.

In your Book on the Sabb. *P.* 117.

§. 10. Your intermediate Sertions contain nothing of Argument, or Contradiction; therefore I ſhall tell you once for all, I ſhall neither now or hereafter trouble you or my ſelf with your Narratives or Excurſions. I am not ſo fond of ſuperfluous labour, or prodigal of my precious time, as to oppoſe every thing that you ſay, or to trace you in all your Meanders.

Here you go to the Heart of the Controverſie. If you had either prov'd what you ſay, or diſprov'd what had been ſaid; 1. *You cannot lie deliberately, and ſay you aſſent and conſent to all things in three Books, when you do not*; yet you ſhew no reaſon to the contrary: Inform your ſelf better. Judge charitably and candidly of thoſe Books, and then the fault

fault may be in your self, and not in them. If you approach to the Borders *of a Lie*, every thing that suits not to your present apprehension is not *presently a Lie*. Had you declar'd formerly what you do now, *you would not willingly have been tax'd *for a Lyar*.

*Sect. 5. Concerning Common-Prayer and Homilies.

In your first Letter you call *this assenting and our new Conformity*; yet the same thing in substance was subscribed to in Archbishop *Whitgifts* Time, *Art. 2. viz.* That the Book of Common-prayer and Ordination of Bishops contain'd nothing contrary to the Word of God, but might lawfully be used, and that they would use it and no other.

*Heylin* of the Presb. *P.*202.

2. You *should absolve many Thousands from an Oath, when you never knew in what sense they took it*: Here you nibble at the Covenant, yet you take no notice of what has been said on that Particular: But Sir! take an unlawful Oath in what sense you please, and there will be much need *of Absolution: Must the sense of an Oath* be measur'd by him that receives it, or from the Authority and Intention of him that does impose it? *Affirmatio aut negatio quæstionis propositæ, si ex Conscientia respondentis non vere conformetur sensui quærentis, aut rogantis est mendacium.*

*Amesius de Consc.* P. 216.

You

You mention ſome good things in the Covenant: As the Declaration *againſt Popery, Schiſm, Prophaneſs:* But you paſs by the ſecond Article with other Paſſages in the reſt, and the Power impoſing the whole; what was good in it we are oblig'd to in another former Covenant; what was naught do not you ſtrain your Parts to juſtifie. The worſt of Hereticks maintain ſome Truths, the better to uſher in Errour, as it were with Sugar and Syrups.

§. 12, 13, 14. I took it for granted that you own'd my Quotation out of the Book of *Reſt.* You ſaid you had expung'd the words in a latter Edition, and I was ſatisfied; yet now you challenge me to cite the words: In one breath you ſay you did and you did not retract them. The Paſſage I quoted was in the 5*th* Edition, *P.* 258. If you are ſo unſteady, you will never arrive to the *glory of the Biſhop of* Hippo; for you do even retract your Retractation; and whilſt you do *plangere commiſſa*, you do *committere plangenda.* You perform this Work with regret and reluctancy; wrapping your ſelf up in obſcurity. A true Penitent will not extenuate his fault, but ſet it forth in the fulleſt Character, and in the moſt bloody Colours. Indeed you make Mr. *Bagſhaw* your Confeſſor, and ſay ſomething to the purpoſe; and though you deal not ſo plainly with me, yet I love and honour ingenuity

where

where soever I find it. If I am not so strict always as to mention *terminos terminantes* your very syllabical words, yet I give the result of them for brevity sake. Such Κρησφύγετα, or *funiculi ex arena*, will not serve your turn before equal and prudent Judges. How oft did Christ and his Apostles quote Texts out of the Old Testament? and yet did not observe the Identical Words: Will you say they were *unfaithful*, or *not a true word?*

§. 15. You *tell me of the inconformity of some that grew under my Shadow: I tell you again, this is* no evidence of an hearty recantation, when you go about to deny, justifie, or extenuate what is notorious in these Parts, and is Matter of Fact, so legible, that a Man may run and read. What was your highest reputation formerly, in being the *Coryphæus* of a Country Association, you now interpret a Reproach. Just as *Amnon* did passionately court *Tamar* to day, and on the morrow thrust her out of doors. Hereafter build the Pyramid of your Fame upon a sure Foundation, and then it will last. Such Glory will not turn into shame. This freeness of mine (it seems) provok'd you to make me smart, by laying before me (what I shall never forget) the miscarriage of one in my own Family. The best is, my Conscience tells me, it proceeded not from want of Vigilancy, Advice, and Prayers, or Example, but from a defect of that which neither

neither you nor I have power to beſtow, and that is Grace.

§. 16. If *your Neighbour and his Wife will ſwear what you ſay; wonder not that ſo much ſcandal was charg'd on your Sequeſtred Miniſters: Yet you ſay* Sect. 7. *Where I was acquainted, the Witneſſes that ſwore to the Scandals of the outed Miniſters, were reputed as honeſt Men as any in the Place; and they got nothing by their Oaths. What, honeſt Men, and charge the Sequeſtred Miniſters of Scandal upon their Oaths? no more juſtly and truly than my Neighbours have charged you with taking their Horſes: Whereas you affirm, you was never in my Pariſh, nor never took Horſe in your life.* I could ſay much from my Neighbours in confirmation of their Charge; for ſince I check'd them for putting me upon ſuch an odious Imployment, they brought a creditable Perſon in this Neighbourhood, who aſſerts much of that they ſay. Sir, you gave the firſt occaſion to this harſh and unpleaſing diſcourſe, by ſaying that your Impriſonment came from the Place of my Miniſtry; thereby tacitely impeaching my Innocency. But *Manus de Tabula.* I ſhall touch no more upon this, except you provoke me, and draw me by the Head and Shoulders into this Field. Only your *prementioned honeſt Witneſſes* puts me in mind what you have printed *concerning ſome honeſt Conformiſts. What Conformiſts and honeſt too?*

when you say, *Conformity is an avowed deliberate sin!* (*i.e.*) As I conceive, is a sin against Knowledge, which the Scripture calls a Presumptuous Sin; and if I mistake not, it is such a Sin that borders upon that against the Holy-Ghost. *Honest Conformists* then in your Dialect must be tantamount to *Honest Sinners.* But who are *the Honest Conformists?* are they not such that swear, declare, subscribe one thing, and speak and act another? Like *Ephraim*, half bak'd, or like the *Laodiceans*, neither hot nor cold. So many *Simons* within the Walls of the Church, like those Priests in time of *Jeroboam*, that said, Put us into the Priests Office that we may eat a piece of Bread. So these conform, that they may enjoy the Patrimony of the Church; yet make you believe their Hearts are with you: Are not these δίψυχοι? they have an Heart and an Heart; like Tumblers, squint-ey'd, look one way and aim another.

§. 17. I mentioned your words in a late Book, *I never medled with the War till after* Naseby *Fight; not a true word say you*, yet your words were as you acknowledge, *I never entred into the Army till after* Naseby *Fight*; *ad Populum Phaleras*! I had thought such a Fly had not been worthy the notice of your Eagle-Eyes; you will get little by this *ficulna Evasio*, this little poor Criticism. It seems you medled with the War by your Prayers, Counsel,

ſel, Sermons and Endeavours; though you entred not as a Soldier into the Army into the high Places of the Field. But if your Confeſſion to Mr. *Bagſhaw* be ſincere, I ſhall look upon you as Innocent. ὁ δεῖνον πίσιν, ἀλλα τὸ μεῖναι ἐν τῷ πτώματι. *Chryſ. ad Theod.*

When I call on you to retract your State-Aphoriſms, you mention one, and ask me whether *I mean that*: May not a Mans Arm be ſound, and all the other Members be leprous, gouty, and rotten: If one or more of your Aphoriſms be found, muſt they all needs be ſo? *Was Biſhop* Abbot a *Presb. implying he was not*: I dare not contradict you; *for I am ſure you ſaid before, that a Queſtion cannot be falſe.* What Arch-biſhop *Abbot* was, or whom he favoured moſt, I liſt not to enquire; let his Duſt reſt quietly for me. There are thoſe that will tell you, that it is no Paradox for a Biſhop to be a Preſbyter: What think you of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*? He turn'd his back on the Conformable Miniſters; and where the Puritans were conveen'd, he would not admit any Proceedings (in *Leiceſter-ſhire*) againſt them: But ſaid, *He was ſure they would carry all at laſt.* They are the words of your own Author; and *is it any wonder to ſee this Man in Arms* againſt the King? He was no more truly Epiſcopal, than *Julian* after his Apoſtacy was a Chriſtian: And why may not Biſhops be Preſb. as well as Preſb. Epiſcopal? *Ruſhw. p. 424.*

Sect. 21. for you chide me *in traducing the Presbyterians*, when *I spake only to the Non-conformists*. And it was *Episcopacy*, say you, *that the present Non-conformists mov'd to obtain.*

What you say of the Prelatists, that they began to offend the King by striving against his Will, I shall meet with the same again and again: The Prelatists are much in your thoughts, it seems, you encounter them so often; though you charge them with such things, that three parts of the Non-conformists will be their Compurgators.

*You cannot deny but that you printed about the* Savoy *Business that which you understand not.* I printed what I found in print, and you disclaim that Book wherein the *Savoy* Business is describ'd. And in stead thereof you give another Narrative. I thank'd you for your pains; but I am a Fool for my Ingenuity. How shall I please you? *I know not that I differ in any Point of Worship, Discipline, or Ceremonies, from Dr* John Reynolds. I do not find that he inveighed against Dioceſans, or Prelates. Did not he live and die in the full Conformity with the Church of *England*; There are those alive yet of the same Colledge, who can tell you, that on his Death-bed he received Absolution, according to our Liturgy. Were he now alive, I believe he would be as hard a Maul to Schismaticks, as he was

to

to the Papiſts. He would not ſay as you do, *I will be a Non-conformiſt a little longer, rather than give Baptiſm, or the Lords Supper, Abſolution, and uſe the juſtifying Aſſertion at Funerals.*

Difference betwixt Mag. and Ch. Paſt. P. 55.

24. *When I had, beyond all Contradictions, prov'd to you, that it was Epiſcopal Men in* England *that raiſed the War againſt the King, you do the poorlieſt put it off, which you cannot confute.*

This is a πρῶτον ψεῦδος, which runs through the whole woof of your diſcourſe; and I ſaid the leſs to this Aſſertion, becauſe I look'd upon it as the ſtrangeſt Parodox in Hiſtorical Tranſactions, that ever ſaw the Light. A ſerious Confutation would have ſhew'd me to be in a Delirium. I thought the Jeſuite might as well juſtifie, that the whole Body of Popery is contain'd in our 39 Articles, as you can prove, *that Epiſcopal Men were beginners of the War.* I ſaid but a little out of abundance of ſtore, not knowing what to ſay firſt; yet you anſwer not that little. *Who knows not that many Epiſcopal Parliaments cryed out ſtill of Monopolies, Liberty, Arminianiſm,* Lauds *Innovations,* &c. Was it not as true, that the Spirit of Preſb. was ſtirring in thoſe Parliaments, though not known by thoſe Names? *There were many troubleſome Members in Parliament*

Heylin of Presb. P. 267. 307.

in Queen *Elizabeth's days, promoting the Discipline*; for the *Scottish* Ministers, *who had been banished* Scotland, *did great hurt in* England. Did you never hear, that when those Parliaments were in full cry against the Duke of *Buckingham*, as the source of all their grievances, that they secretly mov'd him, that Dr. *Preston* should be made Arch-bishop, and then all Complaints should be hush'd. Those Popular Patriots, that did so vehemently *complain of Grievances and Innovations*, (I question not) aim'd at that which their Successors accomplish'd, the down-fall of Bishops, and the possessing of their Lands. Nay, some of them lived to make it good what was the Quarrel they design'd. Who did the King mean, 2. *Caroli*? when he said the *Hand of* Joab *was in the mis-understanding 'twixt him and his Parliament, and that the Incendiaries of Christendome had suddenly and subtlely insinuated those things which had unhappily caus'd diversions and distractions.* There might be clashing 'twixt those Episcopal Men in Parliament; yet it would have been long enough e're these had rais'd War against the King. You are not ignorant, that in the *Marian* days many Lay-men and Clergy fled beyond the Seas, to *Geneva*, and other Places; at their return their Garments smelt of the Disciplinarian Fire ever after, which grew stronger and stronger, until it had burnt the

*Rush.* P. 415.

Cedar

Cedar in our *Lebanon*, and level'd the glorious Towers of the Church. How did *Calvin* and *Beza* labour with their Favourers here to promote their Diſcipline? that as it was once ſaid, The S. S. came from *Rome* to *Trent* in a Cloak-bag, ſo did it come from *Geneva* hither in Packets.

You ſay *Sect.* 25. *There was but few Preſbyters or Non-conformiſts here before the War, no Presbyterians, except two in the Parliament: The General, Lieutenant-Generals, Major-Generals, were Epiſcopal Men. I little thought to have diſputed ſuch a Cauſe.*

I medled not with Lay-men, but with my diſſenting Brethren: Though the other cannot be excus'd; yet theſe were moſt guilty in blowing up the Trumpet. *Dathan* and *Abiram* (of the other Tribes) roſe up againſt *Moſes*; but that Rebellion was call'd the gain-ſaying of *Core*; becauſe he being of the Tribe of *Levi*, was deepeſt in the Conſpiracy: And it is obſervable, that all Inſurrections againſt Princes have been inflam'd by ſome Clergy-men or other, for ſome Centuries laſt paſt. *But were there ſo few Non-conformiſts in* England *before the War?* yet *Anno* 1603. King *James* is ſaid to be ſaluted with a Petition of a thouſand Miniſters, againſt Epiſcopacy; and before that, *Anno* 1582. Mr. *Cartwright*, (who was no Epiſcopal Man) for he had renounc'd his Epiſcopal Ordination beyond Seas, met uſually

with sixty Ministers of his own Way, in some Corner of the Land: Did not these (think you) increase and multiply? If five or six in the Assembly, and five Bishops (as you say) in the Parliament rais'd such stirs; what shall we think may be effected by so many Dissenters? Whereas you think that the late Wars furnish'd us with Presbyterians out of *Scotland*; it is doubtful to me, whether *Scotland* infected us, or we *Scotland*: for when the King was in *Scotland*, he was inform'd, that the *Scots* had neither taken up Arms, nor invaded *England*, but that they were incouraged to it by some Members of Parliament, (*you'l say these were Episcopal Men*) on a design to change the Government of Church and State.

*Hylin* Presb. *P.* 442.

One Proposition sent to the King after *Edgehill*, was, That he should yield to extirpate Arch-bishops, Bishops, *&c.* yet you'l say that all the Parliament (except two) were *Episcopal Men.* As good as any among the Covenanters, who vow'd to abolish Prelacy, *&c.* or as any of those in your own Association.

When Alderman *Pennington* with his 15000 Myrmidons petition'd against Bishops, it may be you'l vouch them to be *Episcopal Men*, as well as you do the Parliament Men: Yet I do not find that any said any thing against that Petition besides the Lord *Digby*; as for many others

others it did appear that such Lettice was too suitable to their Lips, yet found Episcopal Men in your sense.

The War was called *Bellum Episcopale*, not as if fought by Episcopal Men on both sides; but Episcopacy (or rather the Bishops Lands) was the *Palladium* or *Helena*; one side fought for it, the other against it. *Mulciber in Trojam pro Troja*, &c. And here was the very stick at last in the Isle of *Wight*. As for the particular *Members in the Army*, they were better known to you than my self. I delight not in personal Reflections or Quarrels. If those that are yet alive be not Episcopal, I wish they were so. But that they were, whilst they acted in the support of the late Cause, I have not so far renounc'd my reason and experience, as to fall in with your Account: And if you persevere in this new Doctrine, we shall be as distant as the two Poles. One Document I cannot but observe from what is said, —— That the late War was so odious, that neither side will own it. Even as the dead Child (in the Parable) was rejected by both the Mothers.

§. 28. *Your notion of the* Arminian *and other* Calvinian *Bishops, fighting and beginning the War, and also each claiming to be the Church*, is a pritty singularity, and savours of a Romantick Βαλεαχομυομαχία. Did they all fight against one another? Did they not all equally abhor

the

the War? Where did either part pretend to be the Church? You have fram'd a strange imagination, and when you are setting of it up, it will not hang together. I may say of it, as the *Lacedemonian* did of one setting up the body of a dead Man, when his Head swagg'd this way and the other, he cried out τι ἔνδον, something is wanting within: So it is with your discourse, it is Soul-less and Life-less, *sine sanguine & succo.*

It is true *Arch-bishop* Williams *was in Arms*; but he lost the Lord-Keepers Seal, and was not admitted to do his Office at the Kings Coronation: This inflam'd the Man, and transported him beyond his duty towards the end of the War. The missing of a Bishoprick did pervert *Arrius*; and St. *Jerom* himself was not a jot the better for it.

29. 31. I had said,—— Would Episcopal Men root out Episcopacy? You apply your former groundless Hypothesis; *They intended at first to regulate the* Arminians; *but after, by the help of* Scots *and Sectaries, they took down Episcopacy.* How transparent and thin is that Answer? Just as our modern Naturalists salve every *Phænomenon* with their round, square, and forked Atoms: So do you silence Doubts by the *Arminian and Calvinian Bishops.* But you *must prove it better that the Bishops began the War*, or else all you say tumbles to the ground,

You

You ſay I trifle *in referring you to Dr.* Heylin *on the Presbyterians*, though you referred me before to his Book on the Life of Arch-biſhop *Laud*: Who would have thought but *ad hominem* this Method had been juſtifiable? If I am ſparing of my pains, and forbear an elaborate Anſwer to ſuch εἴδωλα καὶ κοῦφας σκίας, ſuch ſhallow and partial reaſonings another Man would ſoon pardon me.

You ſay *you will not juſtifie the Presbyterians in that he chargeth on them*; yet he ſays the Preſbyterians thrive beſt, when they involve whole Nations in Blood and Sacriledge. I mentioned them not at all, *yet you charge me for traducing them.*

*Heylin* of Presb. P. 335.

33. *The Principles of* Hooker, Bilſon, *and ſuch Prelatiſts, led me to what I did and wrote in the Book which I have retracted.*

As for Biſhop *Bilſon*, I have not his Book by me which you quote; neither dare I take upon me to defend what all our Biſhops have written: I muſt either want Imployment, or be very pragmatical, to venture upon every Task you are ready to impoſe upon me. If any of my Fathers diſcover their nakedneſs, I will put on my Mantle and go backward. I will not lick up their Spittle, and ſay it is ſweeter than Nectar and Ambroſia. I will follow them only ſo far as they follow Chriſt.

I am

I am satisfied that Bishop *Bilson* was willing to say something in behalf of our Neighbours of *Holland*, in vindicating them from Rebellion against the King of *Spain*. And so stretched the Doctrine of Subjection too far. Whether this will satisfie you I know not: I am sure *multitudo peccantium non minuit peccatum*. If Bishop *Bilson* misled you in point of *Subjection and Obedience*, let him make you amends in setting you upright about Diocesan Bishops.

I said something (upon your provocation) in behalf of Mr. *Hooker*, not intending to be drawn further into the Field. I am jealous of my own failing and weakness; and so am unfit to be anothers Second, when I have enough to do to answer for my self.

I do still admire Mr. *Hooker*; and I find my Betters have done so before me. *Cambden* wish'd his Books had been turn'd into an universal Language: Bishop *Usher*, *Morton*, and Mr. *John Hales* had the same high opinion of him: Bishop *Gauden* said he had been highly commended of all prudent, peaceable, and impartial Readers. King *James* said his Book was the Picture of a Divine Soul in every Page of Truth and Reason. The late King commended it to his Children next to the Bible. And the same happy Pen, which taught the Kings Book to speak as good *Latin* (if possible) as it had *English*, had almost turn'd Mr. *Hooker*

into

into the ſame Dialect, for the benefit of the learned World.

Yet you ſay he led you into what you did and wrote; in print you ſay the ſame; you cite his 1. Book, P. 21. *Laws they are not which publick approbation hath not made. They muſt be made by entire Societies.* What is this more than what ſome that wrote for the Kings Cauſe in the late Wars have confeſſed, —— That *quoad aliquid*, that is as to making of Laws our Kings have not challeng'd a Power without Parliaments; though I find that the legiſlative Power of Parliaments is properly and legally in the King alone in *Heylin*: And the ſame incomparable *Hooker* adds, —— An *Abſolute Monarch, commanding his Subjects whatſoever ſeemeth good in his own Diſcretion.* This *Edict* hath the *force of a Law, whether they approve or diſlike it:* And elſe-where he ſaith, —— *Where the King hath Power of Dominion, no Forreign State, or Domeſtical, can poſſibly have in the ſame Cauſe and Affairs Authority higher than the King.* Take heed you do not imitate him, who only took what was for his purpoſe, and left out the reſt.

The ſtumbling-block of Diſobedience. 267.

But you have found out other Doctrine in *Hooker*, viz. *That Power is originally in the People, and Eſcheats to them, that the King is* Singulis Major, & Univerſis Minor. I cannot ſubſcribe to this; for as by God Kings Reign, their

their Power is from him, *so it Escheats to him.* No *Ephori*, *Demarchi*, or Tribunes can curb the Prince. But *Sir*, *was you led aside by* Hooker, *to what you did and wrote?* yet you quote these Passages out of his eighth Book. Now *you was led aside in what you did and wrote*, before that Book and his Fellows saw the Light; perhaps *you did and wrote*, and then after the Kings return you gathered up your Principles, as it were *ex postliminio*; as if you should first build the Roof of an House, and then lay the Foundation; or first possess your self of an Estate, and then blunder for a Title. Yet your Title is but crack'd, if you have none but what you have from his third Book; King *Charles* the first denyed them to be his. If they were not ὑποβολιμαῖοι, spurious, or changelings, yet they were so adulterated, that they neither resembled Parent or Sisters. My friend Mr. *Walton* did not guess amiss; he had good Seconds. Dr. *Barnard* says, That Bishop *Usher* noted that in these three Books there were many Omissions; *ex. gr.* —— *If a Private Man offend, there is the Magistrate that judgeth: If Magistrates, the Prince: If the Prince, there is a Tribunal in Heaven, before which they shall appear; on Earth they are not accountable to any.* — Bishop *Sanderson* said, That this Passage, —— The King is accountable to the People, was not in a Manuscript he had seen; but he said the Copies had been interlin'd;

terlin'd; therefore he commanded nothing of his ſhould be printed after his death. And Dr. *Spencer*, whom you recite, ſaid, the *perfect Copies were loſt; and that thoſe which he ſaw were imperfect, mangled, draughts diſmembred into pieces; no favour or grace, not the ſhadows of themſelves remaining.* Had he liv'd to ſee them thus defac'd, he might rightly call them *Benoni's.* See his Life printed 1666. P. 28, 29.

35. I ſaid I could not chooſe but nauſeate that Diſcipline, which ſtartles at renouncing War againſt the King. You ask, Is it *Prelatical Diſcipline?* No, I acquit it. *Presbyterian?* No, ſay you. *The preſent Non-conformiſts offered Epiſcopacy to the King.* You dare not undertake for all. Some will ſtartle as much at Epiſcopacy, as they do at the Oath; Except you caſtrate and qualifie it with your allays, until you have made it quite another thing. As *Martial* ſaid of a Fellow, who repeated his Verſes amiſs, he made them his own: The Poet would not own them. So muſt you do with Epiſcopacy, before it will ſlip down. Indeed you puzzle me very much; I am at a loſs who theſe Non-conformiſts are: When I write to them, you tell me, —— *I traduce the Presbyterians.* But when you ſpeak of them, you ſay, —— *They are for Epiſcopacy.* By your words they are of a Motley-linſey-woolſey Kind, Epiſcopal-Preſbyterian-Non-

Nonconformists. But what ever these Men are, their Discipline must not be touch'd.

*Neither the Chorus, nor any Man of them, startles at renouncing War against the King. You have not prov'd their Practise such, and is your printed Clamour come to this?* You say you know the Non-conformists better than I; yet I know some that will not agree to the former part of that Oath about renouncing War against the King. They have jealousies and fears almost about every word, as if there were an Ambuscade to intangle them, or to take away their Liberty. What *need I prove their Practise*? Is it not proof enough to point at those Men that flit their Habitations, rather than subscribe to what I say. Even as the Philosopher said nothing, but walk'd up and down to prove that there was such a thing as Motion. What if I should ask you, whether you ever took that Renunciation; I think I should stop your career, that you would not act the part so jovially, *Militis tam glorioſi.*

You say *there is something else in that Declaration,* —— *as not to endeavour alteration of Government in Church,* &c. *But this makes me to* nauseate your Principles, as much as the former. What Peace can be expected, whilst Men in effect tell their Governours, —— they will let them alone, whilst they can do no otherwise; but when they have an opportu-

nity,

tunity, they'l throw them out of the Saddle. *Shall you not (ſay you) endeavour the alteration of Government by Lay-Chancellors?* Yes by petition, as becomes Subjects, if you do not bring a Sword in the other hand: *But you muſt do it in your Places*; that is, -- in your Miniſtry: You muſt pray and preach them down: If you turn Soldiers, you muſt fight them down. So the old Covenant Evaſion will ſtand you in little ſtead.

You ſent me to the Confeſſions of Forreign Churches, to learn what their Diſcipline was. I gave you ſome Inſtances of their practiſe, and I could have given you many more; as in *Prague*, and other Places. Are not theſe the beſt Commentary on their practiſe? Sir, what think you of theſe diſciplinarian Principles? —— If Princes hinder the Diſcipline, they are Tyrants, and may be depos'd. —— The Supreme Magiſtrate muſt have no place in Synodical Meetings, unleſs he be choſen for an Elder: You know then what follows. So that it has not been ſuggeſted amiſs, —— That the *Genevian* Principles make thoſe, in whom they are rooted, Enemies *to the Power and guidance of all Sovereign Princes.* —— *That the Principles of Presbyters are Tyranical and Antimonarchical*; *That Puritans and Sectaries, though two of them ſcarcely agree in what they would have, yet they*

*Heyl.* on Presb. *P.* 285. 335. 269.

*Ruſh. Coll.* P. 161. 360.

*are haters of Government; and they would have the Kings Power extinguish'd in matters Ecclesiastical, and limited in Civil.*

I shall the less value publick Confessions, since I call to mind what a glorious King the Long Parliament promised to make our late blessed Sovereign. If any should deny now, that this King was fought against by the same Men, and murdered; and for a proof should send me to their Declarations; (how Posterity may be cheated by this way of arguing I know not) I shall never so far baffle and hoodwink my own knowledge and sad experience, as to believe them. I took the same way to convince you, —— That Episcopal Men being faithful to their Principles, could not be the beginners of the late War; because our Liturgy, Catechism, Articles, Homilies are against such practises. Then you even pitied my *poor silly kind of defence:* You send me *often to* Rushworth, Heylin, *and lay much stress on* Du Moulins *Answer*, to *Philanax*; though I have read him all over, yet I find not that he does patronize your Cause at all: His design is, (and he makes it out) that Popish Tenents lead to Rebellion; but may not other Men have that Fire-brand in their Tails? though they look quite a contrary way. But see your own partiality, when I refer you to *Sions* Plea, *Travers*, *Bancroft*, Sir *Thomas Aston*, that you might see the Discipline, and nauseate it as well

as

as I: You check me and reject them. I may allude to the words of God himself, (I hope without offence) Is your way equal? is my way unequal? Our own Brats (it seems) are beautiful, and others of the same Symmetry are deform'd.

37. After you *had said the War was not founded in Theological differences, but in Political, and Law-Controversies:* I inferr'd that you intended to excuse the Divines. If this was not suitable to your mind, pray pardon me. But since you say the difference was not Theological, pray review your own words. —— *The extirpation of Piety was the great design: Many able Ministers silenced, Lectures suppress'd, the Lords-day reproach'd, and devoted to pastimes, a multitude of Humane Ceremonies took place. This was the Work which we took up Arms to resist. Those that scruple the lawfulness of our War, did not scruple the lawfulness of subverting our Churches among us.* Were not these things Theological? Yet for *these you took up Arms; speak no more of Political Law-differences.* As if State-men were only in the fault. Did not you say before that the Quarrel was begun by *Episcopal Men*; whereof some were Arminian, Anti-Arminian; and were not these differences *Theological?*

The Saints Rest. *P.* 257, 258. the fifth Edition.

Should I insult now and say, Are you fit to torture the Press, and make it groan, with so

numerous a Progeny of Books, *and yet do ſo groſly contradict your ſelf*?

40. You confeſs your Error, in *denying Dr.* Manton *to have written upon* Jude; and I confeſs my *miſnomore of* John *for* Cornelius Burges. I was a ſtranger to this *Cornelius* until theſe latter days, and could ſcarce believe he could be the Author of ſo Orthodox a Book. If we be thus ingenious, we ſhall come near together at laſt.

41. This Section is ſpent about *taking up Arms*; but the latter Clauſe of the Oath does moſt ſtick with you, and *the word endeavour* much troubles you; but if we look upon it in reference to former Tranſactions, it muſt be reaſonably underſtood of a tumultuous and arm'd *Endeavour*; and this has (as I am inform'd) been declar'd by the Judges, who are the true Interpreters of the Law. As King *Charles* the firſt told them *Anno* 1628. *and may not the Juſtices in the Country* declare what was the ſenſe of the Judges? If every word in an Oath muſt be ſtrain'd to the moſt unfavourable ſenſe, and no Interpreters be allowed to explain it; it is the beſt way for us to turn Quakers, and not to ſwear at all: Not in Chriſts ſenſe, but theirs; for 'tis eaſie to turn the plaineſt Oaths into Snares. How ſhall it be known, that Men by vertue of the Covenant do not hold themſelves oblig'd to ſubvert Eccleſiaſtical Government by Biſhops; if it be unlawful

to

*to ſwear not to endeavour the Alteration of the Government:* Then they may lie at catch to play their former Game over again; and who knows but there is ſo much pleading to keep this Sally-port open to this purpoſe? This bogling makes me think your Retractation is not ſo ſincere as St. *Auſtins*; and then 'tis no wonder you fall ſhort of his Glory. As for *thoſe Titles of want of ingenuity, not underſtanding what I ſay; O happy Quieter of Conſcience!* They are ſo common, —— that like thoſe that live near the falling of *Nilus*, though it roar never ſo much, they take little notice of it; ſo I am inur'd to your Buffetings, that I am almoſt turn'd into a Callum.

44. Your refuſal of that Oath (it ſeems) is bottom'd on this, —— *That Lay-Chancellors make up the Church-Government, which is not to be altered.* I think it will not be eaſie to prove this; and I am ſure I never yielded it to you. They may be appendants to, which are not the eſſential parts of a Government. If you peruſe the Oath 1640. which occaſioned ſo much duſt at that time, you will find the Church-Governours ſet down at large, —— Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Archdeacons; there is no mention at all of *Lay-Chancellors*; except you will play the Chymiſt and extract them out of the reſt, *&c.* and then you may make Regiſters, Proctors, Apparators to be the Government. But Sir! re-

member your ſelf, you tell me, *you muſt not give the Reaſons of Non-conformity, becauſe this would be a traducing the Government.* Why do you print againſt *Lay-Chancellors* then, if they *be the Government*?

Learned Men have maintained both in the Schools and from the Preſs a Divine Right of the Government of the Church by Biſhops: But who ever did ſo in behalf of Lay-Chancellors? Is not this to have *hot and feaveriſh Heads?* when you will ſtartle at every Leaf, as if it harboured a Serpent, and turn every Buſh in your way into a Gorgon: Men will never want woe that are ſuch pregnant Contrivers, how to puzzle and intangle themſelves.

When you ſeem'd perplex'd about *Lay-Chancellors*, I did ſay, Me thinks a Man of your ingenuity ſhould reſt ſatisfied with that modeſt Declaration before the Commination in our Liturgy, concerning the Cenſures of the Church. Have I done you any wrong in appealing *to your ingenuity, who have* ſo often *called me diſingenious.* In that Declaration there is an acknowledgment, ——That in the Primitive Church there was a godly Diſcipline, which it is wiſh'd might be reſtored. It is granted then that our Diſcipline is imperfect; and though there is no mention of *Lay-Chancellors*, yet Excommunication being a part of Diſcipline, and belonging to Pepance, I thought you might be

ſo

ſo ingenious as not to exagitate what is confeſs'd to be imperfect. Poor impotent Flies ſtick upon Sores, but generous Spirits are ſatisfied with an acknowledgment, *ſatis eſt proſtraſſe leoni.*

You might perceive I had no mind to draw the Saw, *about Lay-Chancellors and Excommunication.* I had not mention'd them in my Book, or aſſerted any thing about Excommunication; but 'tis your manner to draw any παρεργον into your diſcourſe. And then if I do but touch upon it, 'tis enough; you will preſently pour forth a whole Volume. Juſt ſo when I was a Puny-Sophiſter in the Schools: If I could catch an advantage from any word, that fell from my Antagoniſt, I would hold him there, and paſs by the merits of the Cauſe. It may be I could wiſh, —— that Excommunication were reduc'd into a more Scriptural, Apoſtolical and Primitive Channel, as much as your ſelf; but I never look that the Church below ſhould be without ſpot or wrinkle.

I ſaid, (what could be ſaid) that *Lay-Chancellors* do not excommunicate as they are *Laymen*; but by their Surrogates. *O quam vapulo! I am puſh'd to a Stone-wall, and pin'd up faſt there,* and then I am bound to your Chariot, whilſt you ſing Iö. Triumphe. *Come on, ſay you,* you ſpeak juſt like an Hector, *Horns againſt Horns.* —— *They excommunicate as Laymen*

*men, or as Clergy-men; but not as Lay-men,* ergo, *as Clergy-men.* And upon this you ground many subsequent absurdities; as *Uno absurdo dato,* &c. I shall break your Chain in the first Link; for I deny your division: Your *major* is imperfect, for Excommunication is not from them, *either as Lay-men, or as Clergy-men formally,* or by any proper Causality; but from the Surrogates. Say not our Articles the same: *Unusquisq; Vicarius Generalis, Officialis, seu Commissarius, qui Ordines Ecclesiasticos non susceperit, eruditum aliquem Presbyterum, sibi accerset, & associabit, qui sufficienti authoritate vel ab ipso Episcopo in jurisdictione sua, vel ab Archidiacono (Presbytero existente) in Jurisdictione sua munitus, idq; ex præscripto ipsius Judicis tunc præsentis, excommunicationis sententiam, pro contumacia pronunciabit. Inter Articulos, Anno Domini* 1584. *Regniq;* Elizabethæ *vicessimo septimo.*

*Anno* 1571. *Nullus Cancellarius, nec Commissarius, nec Officialis, procedet usq; ad ferendam sententiam Excommunicationis; sed sententiam deferent tantum ad Episcopum; eamq; aut ipse per se pronunciabit, aut gravi alicui viro in Sacro Ministerio constituto, pronunciandum committet.*

*Anno* 1597. *Quotiescunq; censura ista Excommunicationis, in pœnam cujusvis hæreseos, schismatis, symoniæ, perjurii, usuræ, incestus, adulterii, seu gravioris alicujus criminis venerit*

*in-*

*infligenda; ſententia ipſa vel per Archiepiſcopum, Decanum, Archidiaconum, vel Prebendarium (modo ſacris Ordinibus, & Eccleſiaſtica Juriſdictione præditus fuerit) in propria perſona pronunciabitur.*

Canon 13. in the ſixteenth of *Charles* the firſt. No Excommunication or Abſolution ſhall be good in Law, except they be pronounced by the Biſhop in perſon, or by ſome other in Holy Orders, *in whom is the Power of the Keys.* You did not do well to overlook what I ſaid about the Lay-Chancellors being expert in the Civil Law; and ſo were competent Judges about Intricacies, ariſing about Spiritual Affairs, and ſo might have a Superintendency, and a Juridical Inſpection over this Particular of Excommunication. Tell me, Sir! May not a Man be ſaid to do that vertually, which he does not act immediately? The King does neither preach nor adminiſter the Sacraments, yet has a Supremacy of Power in all things belonging to the Church. Are not many things in Parliament aſcrib'd to the Lords Spiritual, which were tranſacted by their Proxies? Did you never read, that the Nobles of *Jehoſaphat* went about all the Cities of *Juda*, and taught the People? Was not Teachings proper to the Prieſts, Levites, Prophets, as Matters of Diſcipline were to the Apoſtles? Why do you not quarrel with theſe Nobles, for being

2 *Chron.* 17. 4. 9.

being Usurpers? If you say, as some Commentators, that they taught the People, in that they incourag'd the Levites to do so: Why in this sense may not Lay-Chancellors act about Excommunication, by informing and directing the Surrogates how to carry themselves in doubtful Cases? as *Jetho* advised, that Matters of the greatest concern should be brought to *Moses*: Although all this while the original Authority is in and from the Bishop, and we are all but his Curates as to the exercise of it. I find that if you may be permitted to fix your Engine upon a false ground, and begin your Building upon a precarious Foundation; you will do wonders; and raise a *Babel* as high as Heaven: But remove this Sand, and you come tumbling down like *Lucifer*.

You may please your self *in comparing us to Cryers*; because we act subordinately to our Superiors: I think, as we are Gods Ambassadors, we are no better: Our Commission is limited, and we do but *Cry* what is enacted above. Nothing below an Independent, Absolute, and Autocratical Power will serve your turn. *Nobis non licet esse tam potentibus.* If the Presbyterians should succeed, *they would assume a Power to excommunicate Kings*; and then Men are not like to take much care what becomes of them. Is it this you would have? I *dare not* but name my Author; it was the Lord *Digby*.

*Rush.* P. 218.

45. I

45. I told you, that if Lay-Elders medled in Excommunication, you would not be offended at them: You ſay in effect *you renounce them*; for you *have written againſt them*. Where ſhall I find you? If I touch upon any thing that may reflect upon *the Presbyterians, or their Diſcipline*, preſently your blood is up, and I muſt be call'd to a ſevere account by your ſelf, as the *Achilles* of the Party: Yet if any part of that Diſcipline be charg'd upon you, or want a defence, then you fly off, renounce the Cauſe you have eſpous'd: You know not the Man, although you think I am oblig'd to defend every uſage of the Church with which you have a mind to quarrel. What prevarication is this? Into how many Shapes can you transform your ſelf? *Hecate Triformis*! Fleſh, Fiſh, Mirmaid; Epiſcopal-Preſbyterian-Independent; yet none of theſe when you pleaſe: An Ἀμφίβιον ſometimes in the Water, and ſometimes out. I only wiſh you were either hot or cold. *Epiſt.* 8.

I find that *Beza* made the ſame Complaints as you do, that Excommunication was decreed by the Civil Lawyers, *and not by the Presbytery*; yet I find, that at *Geneva* the Power of Excommunication was in the Conſiſtory; whereof two parts were Lay-men: And how it was with the *Sanhedrim* Mr. *Selden* will inform you: But as great a *Mecænas* as you are for the Diſcipline, I doubt whether you will own this. *Heylin* of the Presb. *P.* 7.

46. *If*

*If ever I be a Bishop I shall bless my self from such a defender*: and herein you would do me a kindness: for you would be such a strange and uncouth a Bishop, that it would exceed the skill of a better Advocate than I to defend your manner of Episcopacy.

But there is but little fear of this trouble; for before *Richard* will agree with *Baxter*, what kind of Bishop he would be, it will be too late in the afternoon with me to undertake your defence.

47. Here you say, *I sarcastically insinuate something about your* Nolo-Episcopare, *and so you wish again for one grain of Ingenuity in me.* You might have sav'd this labour, if you had not undertaken to know my mind better than I do my self. Who gave you commission to read my thoughts backward? as destitute *of ingenuity as you make me*, I never reproached any with their misery, or upbraided them with their choice. It may be an act of magnanimity to refuse preferment; for *Nazianzen* and many others have done it before you. I will not be so curious and inquisitive as to search whether your motives and theirs be the same,

48. *Magis & Minus non variant speciem*; *holds in substances, say you, but not in relatives.* Yet neither substances nor relatives in my Logick, *Suscipiunt magis & minus*; If they be relatives *secundum esse*. But this is onely in respect of quantity,

quantity and quality which do adhere to them. For as one man is not *magis homo*, ſo one Father is not *magis Pater* than another. But ſay you *Would a ſpoon be a ſpoon if it were as big as a Church.* It is enough for my purpoſe that there is no ſpecifick difference betwixt a little Spoon and a great one, nor betwixt a ſmall Dioceſs and a great one: and this you ſeem to aſſert in your next Section, ſhewing that there is ſmall difference *betwixt Biſhop* Uſhers *and the preſent Model.* Take heed of abſurd and ridiculous ſuppoſitions; for as they are not argumentative, ſo they infer nothing but monſtruous concluſions. Rub up your Philoſophy about *maximum quod ſic & minimum quod non*, and ſee what *Voſſius* ſays *De Invocat. Sanct. Theſi* 49. --- that things only differing gradually are ὁμοειδῆ, and then it may be you may give leave to *magis & minus*, and to be a Maxim ſtill. But right or wrong you muſt have a fling *at Dioceſan Biſhops*, which you ſay can have no *perſonal preſent Communion with a thouſand Churches under them, ſince they never ſaw one the other.* Is there no Communion *but perſonal, and 'twixt thoſe that ſee each other?* Many of the Kings Subjects never ſaw his face, yet they have many hands and eyes in reſpect of their ſubordinate Officers. So have Dioceſans in their Curats, and may not we be συμπολίται, and have a πολίτευμα with the Saints below and the Saints above, though we never ſaw them.

50. *To*

50. *To all you talk after on this Subject I cannot find in my heart to trouble my self with any other Answer than to tell you that all you say is utterly impertinent*, you would have cry'd out ——*O easie Answer!* but *why impertinent? you had declar'd your self for the Episcopacy of* Cyprian *and* Ignatius; *but not for Diocesan Bishops, because they were not primitive.* I told *you there were Bishops before there were Parishes*, therefore *the most primitive Bishops were not Parochial.* Then I shew'd you the large Dioceſs of *Ignatius*, *Cyprian*, &c. And I quote the very words of *Ignatius* in his Epiſtles, *and all this is impertinent:* but 'tis no ſtrange thing with you; for when I mention'd ſeveral grand Authors *about the Diſcipline*, you give me juſt ſuch another Anſwer.

51. You had ſpoken, (as I underſtood) againſt our Oath of Canonical Obedience to Biſhops: I told you this was only in *rebus licitis & honeſtis.* This you canvas up and down; yet when you had to do with Mr. *Bagshaw* you grant it, but with me you diſpute it over again.

Are *Oaths neceſſary to be ſworn to the Clergy?* It was once made neceſſary to ſwear and vow againſt the Clergy to the utter rooting them up, and thoſe that refus'd ran the hazard of all they had. And may not we now promiſe Obedience to them in things lawful? or rather by the King by whoſe Law this is injoy'nd?

but

but *where is any Antiquity for it?* I produc'd the words of *Ignatius* to this purpose, yet you take no notice of them.

52. *I had said* Mr. Cartwright *wrangled himself into Conformity: you say it is well done of you to write an historical untruth so boldly? you have no way to come off, but to say some body told you so: some body told you so is sometimes and in some cases a good account.* If we were stript of the advantage of Tradition, you would be much puzzl'd about the Christian Sabboth. But is this an *Historical Untruth?* you might have read the very words in print before now; and in another Author you may read —— *Cartwright* either was, or was perswaded to be satisfied; when he was admitted to *Warwick* he faithfully promised, if he might be tolerated to preach, not to impugn the Laws, Orders, Government, or Governors in the Church of *England*, but to perswade and procure as much as he could, both publickly and privately the Estimation and Peace of the Church —— he carried himself with as much respect to the Archbishop as any of the regular and conformable Clergy to his death. —— Dr. *Burges* observ'd that *Cartwright opposed the Ceremonies as inconvenient, not as unlawful*; and therefore perswaded *men to conform rather than leave their*

*Mr. S. P. Heylin Pref.* 15.

*Ib.* 291.

*Ibid. p.* 327.

*Ibid. p.* 377.

*Flocks*;

*Flocks*; so that you may see I had better ground for what I said than *meer hear-say.*

53. *Here you repeat concerning the Oath of non-endavouring the Alteration of Government.* But as you say nothing but what hath been said before, so I have nothing to say but what I have said already, until something be produc'd *de novo.*

54. *Who it is that does most to drive people from the Parish Churches, I am satisfied by experience; and whether all Nonconformist Dissenters be such children of hell as you describe them.* Methinks you are like a waspish or cholerick Disputant, who being impatient of contradiction, and having spent his stock of reason, falls to chiding, and supplies the want of argument with the overflowing of the gall, and 'tis no wonder you begun to faulter and rage at the latter end of the day, after so tedious a Journey, I mean so long a discourse: But when you are refreshed, revolve with your self in your retirement and solitude. 1. Whether we that now bear the heat of the day (I might ask you according to your procedure, *whether you mean me*,) do drive men from the Parish Churches. 2. Whether I describe dissenters, all of them to be the children of hell. *Reverende Pater in hisce duabus Quæstionibus expecto animi tui sententiam.* Take heed of that pernicious Luciferian Counsel —— *Calumniari fortiter hærebit aliquid.* Let

St.

St. *Paul* rather inſtruct you ἀληθεύειν ἐν ἀγάπῃ, to ſpeak the truth in love. Away with theſe Heats; let's tear one the other in pieces no longer: Can you blame me for ſaying ſuch diſſentions make Muſick at *Rome?* Let us ſhew our ſelves to each other like *Joſeph* and his Brethren at their interview in *Ægypt.* Though my Judgment leads me to be *Pius Inimicus* to the Non-conformity of the Non-conformiſts; yet nothing ſhall make me uncharitable to their Perſons.

55. *To write a juſt Defence of the Non-conformity which I own, would take up more time than I have to ſpare, unleſs I ſaw a probability of better effect, than by putting it into your Hand, as now you motion.* I will not ſay this is a Tergiverſation; for if there be any that comes near St. *Johns* Hyperbole, of writing more Books than the World can contain, you are the Man. If you do but open the Flood-gates of your Lips, out there guſhes ſuch a Torrent, (I allude ſtill to St. *John*, but 'tis to the Dragon in the Revelation) that is enough to overwhelm ſuch a Pigmy as I am. Your Foam is the more grievous becauſe it is brackiſh. I expect nothing from you but ſcorn; and that you ſhould pronounce your wonted *Raca* againſt me in a higher Key, and a more Emphatical Accent: You will have the Lions Motto, *Nemo me impune laceſſit*: Yet I could wiſh that if your Writing be no ſweeter, it

might be shorter; and that you would contract your swelling thoughts, and like the Oracle speak much in a little, for I am weary in following you.

*I hope you will no more tell me, that I call upon you to blow against a flaming Oven; and to do Impossibilities, when I call'd for your Reasons of Non-conformity.* You tell me I know no *such Book could be licens'd; yet when I made the motion in* assisting you in the Birth, you utterly waved my Overture.

*If you are under affliction, I hope it will make you to judge as one that must be judged.* Sir, I told you the very truth: I was entering into the Furnace in my last; and since that God has been pleas'd to drench and plunge me deeper, both as to my Person and Family; else you had receiv'd *this Return* much sooner: Though I might have thought such an Intimation might have procur'd your forbearance, and that you would not have come upon me when I was sore.

I thank you that you have any hope that I may improve my afflictions, by sucking some Honey out of such a hard Rock; and I can bless God that of very faithfulness he hath caused me be troubled. I can kiss the Rod without any murmuring Sobs, and adore him that has made me to smart.

τί δήτ' ἀναλγοίης ἐπ' ὀξειργασμένοις·
οὐγ' γένοιτ' ἂν ταῦθ' ὅπως οὐχ ὧδ' ἔχειν.

It

It is God that beareth Rule in the Kingdom of Heaven and Earth; therefore I praiſe, honour and extoll him; all whoſe Works are Truth, and his Ways Judgment.

What Talents the ſame God hath beſtowed on me, I ſhall lay them out, not *to drive Men from the Congregation*, but to invite and wooe them more and more into the Church, that they may come under the Net of the Goſpel, and the droppings of Heaven. Herein I ſhould rejoyce to have your Co-operation, and the aſſiſting Labours (*all little enough*) of all our diſſenting Brethren: Whilſt I am an unworthy Labourer in the Lords Vineyard, and

Your Devoted Friend,

*Jo. Hinckley.*

*Northfeild Octob.* 13.

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Mr. *BAXTER'S*

# Fourth Letter.

*SIR,*

WHen I had written an Anſwer to your laſt, the Tranſcriber moved ſlow in his Work, and it being ſomewhat long, (fourteen Sheets) before he had finiſhed it, I heard from a double report of your own acquaintance, that you purpoſed to print what you got from me: At the firſt hearing I was not ſorry for it: But upon ſecond thoughts theſe four Reaſons put a ſtop to the miſſion of the Papers to you. 1. I have written more plainly and ſmartly than I would have done if it had been for any ones uſe beſides your own: A ſecret conviction and reproof may be ſharper than an open one. 2. I am confident that you cannot get the whole licenſed, (and I cannot eaſily think that you are willing.) Upon your encouragement a few ſheets againſt *Bagſhaw* (ſince dead) were printed without Licenſe, and were ſurprized in the

Preſs; and if you ſhould print mine by ſcraps, and not entirely, I ſhould take it for a great injury and diſhoneſty. 3. And I doubt it would be offenſive to ſome, and ſo might tend to my own diſquiet; for to make it ſo plain, as that nothing but a high degree of Ignorance or Impudence can contradict it, that the Parliament that raiſed Arms againſt the King were by profeſſion *Epiſcopal*, (ſuch as *Heylin* deſcribes *Abbot* to be) as againſt thoſe whom they accuſed of Innovation, and rais'd ſuſpitions that they were reconciling us to Popery, at the price of our loſs of Propriety and Liberty. I have been fain to name ſo many Men, of whom ſome are yet living, that I know not how they will take it, to have their Military Acts recited after the Act of Oblivion; and I believe thoſe Clergy-men that have uſed this falſe Viſor to put on the Non-conformiſts to make them odious, that it was they only, and not the Epiſcopal that began the *Engliſh* War, will be very angry to have their fraud detected. 4. But all theſe are ſmall matters in compariſon of the laſt: Though God hath given us a King, who is ſo firm to the Proteſtant Religion, as to make a ſevere Law againſt all that ſhall caſt out ſuſpitions of his being inclin'd to Popery; yet all Men are mortal, and God knoweth into what Rulers Hands my Papers may be put by the Papiſts for their advantage when they ſee them: And

they

they may ſay, You ſee, Sir, that it was not only the Non-conformiſts, but the Epiſcopal Proteſtants alſo that raiſed War againſt the King; therefore no Party of them are to be truſted by you, as *Philanax Anglicus* attempted; and Arguments from Intereſt take much in the World. And I had rather the Non-conformiſts alone were diſtated and caſt out, than the Conformiſts alſo, leſt worſe ſucceed them. On all which Conſiderations I ſhall ſuſpend my ſending you theſe Papers, till you give me ſufficient Reaſons to believe that they ſhall not be uſed to more hurt than good; and then you ſhall have them by the next Meſſenger. But I doubt whether it will not offend you to ſee it ſo undeniably proved, that your Papers contain ſo great a number of groſs miſtakes. Among which one of the moſt excuſable-willing one, is your miſtake of my Apology (*in tantum*) for one or two Non-conformiſts near you, (I know of no more) that had not Academical Education, or might be ſuſpected to be half as low in Learning as you defined them to be, when I told you how much I preferred Matter before ſtrange Words, and an *Engliſh* Divine before a *Syriack* Sot, or a few Shreds, *&c.* For though I had no thought of accuſing the Conformiſts more than others, of being guilty of acquaintance with the Oriental or other Languages; yet I confeſs I had mentioned the Conformiſts ſome-

where in the ſame Sheet, and you were like enough in the contradicting humour to think that all that was mentioned to you was ſpoken by way of oppoſition to your Party, when you found ſome crums of credit in it: But to diſabuſe you, I aſſure you; 1. That I thought not in thoſe words of comparing Conformiſts with Non-conformiſts at all, but only Pedantick ſmattering in ſtrange words, with real ſolid underſtanding, and preaching of Theology, in what Parties ſoever they were found. 2. That I never yet heard any of your Youths in our Pulpits that ſhewed any higher Matters of that poor kind of oſtentation than a few words of *Hebrew*. 3. That really it was a Lad in my own Houſe at my Elbow, the remembrance of whom ſuggeſted to me the matter of my Compariſon, who is yet no Conformiſt, and I aſſure you no judicious Divine, (what ever he may be hereafter) and yet (ſeeing you ſeem to differ from me in this Point alſo, and ſo prefer ſuch *Shreds* before true Knowledge in Divinity) is able to gratifie you with ſomewhat more than Shreds of *Welch*, *Engliſh*, *Latin*, *Greek*, *Hebrew*, *Chalde*, *Syriack*, *Arabick*, *Perſian*, *Samaritan*, *Æthiopick*; and if theſe be not enough for you, we can make ſhift between us to ſend you ſome Shreds of *Armenian*, *French*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, yea and of the *Indian* Language of our *Americans*, in which Mr. *Eliot* hath printed

ed the Bible. And if you ſignifie your deſire or willingneſs to accept them, he ſhall ſend you ſome Shreds *of theſe* by the next, in ſtead of ſolid Divinity, that you may have that which you prefer. And I further aſſure you, that he never had theſe from any Univerſity, nor from any Tutor that is fond of Conformity; which I ſay becauſe you tell me how we would boaſt of ſuch if they were among us. And would you have me ſend out ſuch a Lad (of nineteen or twenty years of age) to be a Preacher or a Paſtor, becauſe he can talk nonſenſe (or at leaſt but little profound Divinity) in ſo many Tongues? Had I ſet as light by Languages as you dreamed, I had not taken care to help him to this much: But becauſe I ſet more by *real Science*, than you ſeem to do by your contradiction of my preference of it, I count him that is without it, and without the Holy Love and Life which it tendeth to, to be but as ſounding Braſs, or a tinkling Cymbal.

Your Servant,

*R. B.*

*Jan.* 20. 1671.

AN

# AN ANSWER TO Mr. *Baxter's* fourth Letter.

*SIR*,

I Received yours directed to the Curate of *Northfeild*. Now there is ſome hope; your Language is truly Epiſcopal: For we are in truth the Biſhops Curates; and under that Title we are pray'd for in the Collect, though more at large in the Littany. But I think the King will ſhortly give me a Writ of Eaſe, ſo that I ſhall neither be Rector nor Curate there long. All Times involve me in Sufferings: May I hereby know (*Reduplicative*) the Fellowſhip of my Saviours Sufferings! And ſo thereby with him be made perfect!

Thoſe that told you what I might ſay about Printing our Papers, might have told you the whole truth; which was with this reſerv'd Hy-

potheſis. —— If you ſhould approve of it. Though you well know, how you have urg'd me to it. Such Apocopes do too much reſemble the Legerdemain of the grand Impoſtor. I may be ignorant; I cannot be diſhoneſt. I had rather your Devoto's ſhould take it for granted, that you have mangled the whole Book you oppoſe, and laid the whole Compages of it in the Duſt, than confute them by doing you the leaſt injury.

Your four Reaſons are ſatisfactory unto me: And I am glad that you are convinc'd, that your Ink did overflow with Gall towards one who treated you with much humanity. But I am ſorry you do δηλύειν ὑποδίσει, in ſtill aſſerting, —— that the War was raiſed by Epiſcopal Men. Herein you are ſingular, and are deſerted by your own Friends; who are concern'd to lay hold on ſuch a Doctrine, (if true) with both hands. But this Hiſtory is too freſh in our Memories to be tranſpos'd or depray'd.

It is true, Dr. *Heylin*, and many others, thought Arch-biſhop *Abbot* a great *Mæcenas*, and favourer of Puritans, who were afterward call'd Preſbyterians. There were hot Diſputes by other *Epiſcopal* Men againſt the five Articles, againſt incroachments upon our Liberty Civil and Religious; therefore theſe Epiſcopal Men rais'd the War: This Sequel or Conſequence you cannot make good; or

if

if you ſet down this Argument categorically, I will deny the *Major in Æternum.* You may as well bottom our late difference betwixt King and Parliament, on the remote Quarrel betwixt *York* and *Lancaſter.* Had Biſhop *Abbot* liv'd, do you think he would have eſpouſed the Parliaments Cauſe? *Qui pauca reſpicit, de facili pronuntiat.*

What you ſay about the many Sheets you have prepar'd, I tell you as formerly, —— I do not court your trouble. I cannot ſuppoſe that you have taken ſo much pains to be buried in my Desk; nor ſhall I willingly examine ſuch a Bundle, without the expoſing my Sentiments to the Suffrages of the learned World.

You excuſe the expreſſion of a *Syriack Sot*: And becauſe you tell me the occaſion of it, I will tell you my ſurmiſe. I had thought you had perſtring'd a dear and old Acquaintance of mine, who for his humble ſelf-denial, and deep Learning in the Languages, is *Stupor Mundi* both at home and abroad.

You ſpeak of *my groſs miſtakes*: But if there be no other than you name, let any Man that underſtands ſenſe read the Papers, and perpend the ſtate of the Controverſie, and I dare boldly ſay, he will fall into the ſame Toil. Your Explicatory *Clavis* has expedited me out of that intanglement. And I am reſolved not to be reſolute in quarreling. It

is

is a strange courtesie you tender me of sending me your Lads scraps. If I had not a competent measure of that kind of Learning, I could have a better Tutor; who, as I told you, is the Glory of his Age. I have known pregnant Boys, —— *præcocis Ingenii*, come from *Westminster* School, fraught with a Cyclopædy of Languages; and yet before they have left the Colledge, they have scarce retain'd any foot-steps thereof, *unus in omnibus*, &c. Just as you have seen the beauty of a fair Face, either by Sickness or Age, so obliterated and furrow'd, that there's no more remainder of Beauty left, than there is of *Troy*, in those plow'd Fields where it once stood.

The Fathers were good Divines; yet as Dr. *Hackwell* observes, —— Among the *Latins* St. *Jerom*, and *Origen* Among the *Græcians*, did excel in the Oriental Languages.

The last part of your Charge I cannot but take unkindly: You say *I prefer Shreds before true Knowledge in Divinity, and real Science.*

Sir! here you speak without Book: For I have neither said so ῥητῶς, nor can you charitably infer it from any thing I have spoken. I know not how to confute you, but by wishing you knew me better. When I have heard Sermons at the University as smooth as Glass, so that the Art in wording them did *oppus superare*; I have declar'd

to

to Perſons of no ſmall Place, —— that ſuch ſlippery Preaching, and Cadencies of words, will ſpoil all in the Country: Such Sermons will reach no further than the Ears, and be look'd on as Romantick Harrangues. You know what *Auſtin* ſaid of *Tullies Hortenſius*: The ſame ſay I of ſuch Preaching, which tends not to advance Piety and Holineſs.

Now worthy Sir! For as *Calvin* ſaid of *Luther*: Think of me what you pleaſe, I will acknowledge your worth in many Particulars. And as for Abſoluteneſs, it is ſo incompetible an Attribute to Man, that I know you do not aſpire unto it: I am ſorry; and it ſhall be for a lamentation, to ſee in your late Writings a Foundation laid for a grand Schiſm in this Church, as things now ſtand.

Give me leave, *ſupra totam materiam*, to re-inforce my Perſwaſive by this Conſideration. —— Have not you ſeen Preſbytery ſupplanting Epiſcopacy? Independency, Preſbytery? Have not you ſeen Anabaptiſm with one foot in the Stirrup? And who knows but (as *Montanus* ſaid of the Holy Ghoſt) Quakers and Fifth-monarchy-men might have had their turns? Nay, Papiſts and Atheiſts, if thoſe days of Anarchy and Nonconformity had continued. If you ſaw the boldneſs of Papiſts, and their great Numbers, where I ſometimes exerciſe my Miniſtry,

ſtry, you would count it no ſmall happineſs, that ſuch fluctuations are limited by Reformed Biſhops in a Reformed Church. It ſhall be my Prayer therefore, that you were not almoſt, but altogether a Conformiſt.

*John Hinckley.*

*Feb.* 2. 1671.

Reſpondi, *&c.* ——

A

# A LETTER TO AN Oxford-Friend, FROM A Countrey-MINISTER; Concerning the INDULGENCE. Anno 1672.

## CAP. I.

*The Commendation of an* Oxford-*Life.*

*Dear Sir!*

I Have always had a great Veneration for that Bishop who never approach'd your *Oxon*: though in his Episcopal Grandeur, and Declining years; but whil'st he was in the way, when he first saw your rising Towers, he alighted from his Horse:

And in the open Field, proſtrating himſelf upon our Common Mother the Earth, He paid his Duty, to his Mother the Univerſity: or rather, the Tribute of Praiſes unto God, who firſt brought him thither.

In like manner, Sir! The Senſe of that Mercy and Goodneſs, which I have ſeen, and taſted within your Walls; has prompted me to ſay---*How beautiful are thy Tents, O* Oxford! If at any time, from *Shot-Over*, or any of thoſe Adjacent Hills, I have (as from Mount *Nebo*) beheld your Land of *Canaan*: And well I may call it ſo; where there has been ſuch a torrent of Milk and Honey; The *Sincere milk of Gods Word*: And that, which is *ſweeter than honey*; Learning, and Religion. Theſe are the genuine ſtreams of that Fountain, except it be mudded by ſome ſtrange Cattle; or poyſoned by Principles of a Forreign growth. If any come from you, either looſe, or illiterate; they are but degenerous Plants, that never taſted the ſweetneſs of your Soil: nor bow'd themſelves to your Diſcipline. They are but the Wenns and Cancers of your body; Or rather Inſects, hatch'd out of their own ill humours, which they brought with them thither, out of their Countrey, Schools, or Families.

*Sir!* Our Friendſhip is no Muſhrome, ſprung up the other Night: But it is almoſt immemorial: of ſo long ſtanding, that I am

even

even puzzled, to trace it up to its first original; or to shew, where was the head of this Nile. She was a very unhappy Girle, who had so long liv'd under an Act of wanton *Indulgence*; that she could scarce ever remember, that she had been a Virgin. But it is the Crown of your Kindness, that I am not able to tell, when It was otherwise. Yet All this while, I never Acquainted you with one notable change, or dispensation, which befell me at *Oxon.*

I came thither (blessed be God!) well principled in the First Table; Religion towards God. My dearest Friends were accounted *Puritanes*, in those days; yet I had not learn'd my Duty to the King. I look'd upon him, as an ordinary Man: And if things went not well (that is) in my Apprehension, I was too ready to murmur against his Government. But, to Pray for him, to speak Reverently of him, as God's Vicegerent, And to give him that Obedience, which was his Due; I had not learn'd. Conscience was not so well Edified, as to concern It self in these things. They seem'd to me Indifferent Acts: they might be done; or they might be left undone: They were no Essential parts of my Religion: But altogether Extrinsecal to it: until with *David, I went into the house of God.* I mean, upon a day of Inauguration, I heard Dr. *Wentworth* of *Baliol* Colledg, Preach at St. *Maries*,

on 1 *Tim.* 2.1,2. *I exhort, that first of all, Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and Giving of Thanks, be made for all men, for Kings, and all that are in Authority,* &c. He shew'd so Invincibly from hence, That all these do belong, even to wicked Emperors, and Kings; that I was thorowly convinc't of my Former Errour; And had Cause *to Report, That God was there of a truth.* Had you sate in Mr. *Nye's* Chair, among the *Triars*; you would have look'd on such a Transmutation, as an Act of Conversion. But such a Confession before those *Rabbies*, would have been so far from an Evidence of grace (so much was this word Abus'd) that it had been enough, to have drawn down an *Anathema.* It would not have been easie to have Escap'd the brand of a *Malignant Carnalist,* (I speak too softly) of an Absolute Reprobate. In such Request was Loyalty then. And have these Leopards (do you think) chang'd their Spots? Let them come forth! let's see their penitent tears, wherewith they have wash'd themselves. Let them come, but to the very threshold of Repentance; in an Humble Acknowledgment of their Guilt, before God, and his Church; And we will be more charitable unto Them in allowing Them Converts, than they have been to Us. I much fear, the King's *Indulgence* has not melted them, and put upon them a Royal stamp.

Nay?

Nay? Do's it not harden them? Do they not think themſelves the beſt of Subjects, to whom ſo great a favour is vouchſafed? Will they not expect hereafter to be humour'd, rather than govern'd? As if they were a People of the greateſt moment, and weight in the ballance of the Kingdom, to whom the Laws themſelves muſt bow, and bend; rather than they muſt be diſpleaſed?

But I am come from *Jeruſalem* to *Jericho*: from my Mother's genuine Sons, to a ſpurious Offspring. Therefore, like a man that is affrighted, with the ſight of Wolves and Tygers; I will betake my ſelf out of this wilderneſs, unto my beloved *Oxford* again.

Sir! Your Lot is fallen to you in a fair ground. You may Converſe with Men, and Books; breath in Libraries, until you become one your ſelf; and you may ranſack the vetty Treaſures of the *Indies*. Had not I a tranſcendent Kindneſs for you, I would tell you, I envy your Condition. It coſt me many a tear, when I parted from thoſe Cloiſters; when by an heavy Judgment, it came to my turn, to be taken; and to yours, to be left. It was like the Haling, and Dragging of a living Member, from its own Natural Body; or the lugging a fond Child from his Mother's Breaſt.

I look'd upon Going into the Countrey, as if I had been Condemned; or Baniſh'd. Nay!

as if I had been Sentenc'd into a Region of Death.

But did I ſay, that I am parted from your Society? No. As *Diogenes* told *Antiſthenes*, you ſhall never find a Club, Knotty, and Crabbed enough, to drive me from you. I will be with you ſtill, in the Contemplation of my Mind. In admiring your happineſs: for as *Plato*'s Love, was in Abſtracted, and Intellectual Beauties, ſo it is not impoſſible for my purer part, my Mind (without the help of Atoms) to take many a pleaſant, and inviſible Turn, in your Galleries. You have your Pilgrims, as well as *Loretto*, and *Jeruſalem*. *Ariſtotle*'s Well has more Savour and Virtue, than St. *Winnifred*'s. Therefore I will be with you ſtill (Maugre all unkindneſs) in my Devotions: Praying, That *Peace* and *Plenty* may be *within your Walls.*

## CAP. II.

*The* Indulgence *is a diſheartning to young Students.*

WHen I firſt Read the *Indulgence*; I did not only tremble, and quake; out of a preſentiment of that Havock, which it was like to make in the Church: like a *flying-burning-roll* demoliſhing, & levelling the very

very Pinacles of it with the duſt. I could not forbear ſaying as *Zippora* did to *Moſes*--A bloody Husband, ſaid ſhe. A bloody Indulgence, ſaid I, art thou to the Church of God. I read in the very face of it, what was ſeen in *Hazael*: that it would lay waſt this *Eden*; and cut the very heart-ſtrings of an orderly Religion. Therefore, ſo ſoon as it was born into the world, I nam'd it *Icabod*--The *Glory is departed from our Iſrael.* I had another Dread upon me too; which was, That the Smoke, and Smother of it, would even blaſt the Plants of your Nurſery. And like the opening of *Pandora*'s Box, would fill you with Blaſting, and Mildew: I had almoſt ſaid, with Murrain, and the very Peſtilence.

Alas! what Incouragement is there, to exhauſt the Spirit in Studies? to eſpouſe an *Ephod?* and to be Conſecrated to the Temple? when every *beaſt may touch the Altar.* And every Heteroclite, that has Pride enough to be ſingular, may have liberty to ſet up *Altar* againſt *Altar*, when there is *worſhipping under every green tree*; and in every ſuper-annuated Barn. *According to the number of thy Cities, ſo are thy Altars, O England!* Is it not a diſmaying Spectacle, to ſee *Mount Gerazim*, and *Mount Ebal* to ſtrut, and ſwell; as if they would either confront, or confound *Mount Zion?* To ſee *Dan*, and *Bethel* (like

Excreſcencies in the Body) not only, to ſtarve, and macerate *Jeruſalem*; but with their numerous *Baalites*, to deride, and vex her? As *Hagar* did her Miſtris *Sara*: And *Peninna*, the Lord's Handmaid, *Hanna*. As it is ſaid of *Saul*, That *his Shield was vilely caſt away, as though he had not been annointed with Oyl.* So, our Churches, and Oratories, are ſlighted, and contemn'd; as if they had never been Conſecrated, and ſet apart, for the Service of the great God. Prophaneneſs in Manners, is like to follow upon ſuch Prophanation of Places.

Now Sir! Your Students had need have the Courage of *Joſhua*, who dare venture into the Camp, and liſt themſelves into a warfare, againſt all theſe *Cananites*, *Jebuſites*, *Philiſtims*, and what not? As many Adverſaries, you may be ſure, as *Apollyon* can muſter up, and thruſt out of his bottomleſs pit. He had need have *Ceur de Lion*: or to have his heart wrapped up, and fortify'd with as many ſheets of Braſs, as there were Folds in the Shield of *Ajax*. Such Swarms of Locuſts, will make the ſtouteſt Champions, *Auſtin*, *Luther*, to quail. Where then will your Stripplings? your young Divines appear? when they ſee the Heavens black, and all places filled, with duſt, and noiſe: when an empty Non-Conformiſt, who never eat one grain of Salt in your *Naioth*: or if he did, it

was (like the Dogs of *Nilus*) touch and away; ſhall be cry'd up among the Rabble, and giddy Fraternity; as much as *Diana* was at *Epheſus*: when in the mean time, the moſt Learned of your Doctors, ſhall be diſmiſſed---with ---*Alas! Poor men! Their Diſcourſe is unſavory. They were never in the third Heaven.* Nay! They ſhall not be fit to be put in the Ballance, with ſome forward Tradeſmen: For theſe begin again to diſplay their gifts; and think, they can ſcan a Text, and ſound the depth of Scripture, as well as the profoundeſt *Gamaliel* amongſt you. And this is effected, by a ſullen kind of gravity; a loud and bold utterance; an extatical Devotion, and a down look, as if they had loſt that *Os ſublime* which God beſtowed upon them at firſt; or as if thoſe Optick Nerves, which naturally draw and pullice up the Eyes towards Heaven, were either crack'd, or broken. One would think ſuch a popular *Eccleſiaſtes*, were the moſt humble, the moſt mortify'd lump, as ever was quickened, with a living Soul: And yet that Shrub in Semblance, is higher in his own conceit than the talleſt Cedar. He does not only overlook *Lincoln*, but *Canterbury* too. All your Skill in Languages, Arts, Sciences; all your Reading of Fathers, Councils, Primitive Hiſtories, is nothing to his precious Parts, and mournful Accents, when the Auditors are ſet, and keep tune, and

chime

chime with every Pathetical expreſſion. Their very Bowels ſeem to *ſound like an Harp*, and their Sighs to Eccho; like ſome hollow Cave, or Cavern of the Earth. Hither, the multitude Flock, juſt as Inſects ſwarm about a Dung-hil, or beſiege a dead Carcaſs. As I have ſeen in Markets and Fairs, more People about a Mountebank, one that ſings Ballads, or a Pedlar's Stall, than in a Jeweller's, or a Goldſmith's Shop.

Is not this enough to make your Students to throw away their Books? to divert their Studies? and when they peep out into the Countrey, to ſtartle and recoil (like thoſe Infants of *Saguntum*) into their Mother's womb again; or elſe to betake themſelves, to ſome more quiet, and thriving kind of life?

Sir! I have found, by long Experience, that you have had a Compliance and Sympathy with me, in moſt things of Concern. As if one Soul had been divided, betwixt us both; we have condol'd, we have rejoyc'd together; you cannot then, but grieve with me, to foreſee that deſolation and widowhood; which is like to befall our Mother the Univerſity: when the moſt Pregnant Wits ſhall have a damp come upon them, and even ſmother them in their Neſts. What need ſo much Watching? ſo much conſulting the Oracles, and Monuments of the Dead? when

the

the Reading ſome *Engliſh* Neotericks, will bring them to more Repute. And as *Jerome* told *Marcella, Idcirco ſancti, ſi nihil ſcirent.* They are accounted the more Holy, by how much they are the more Ignorant. (*a*) But it will appear, that thoſe Men are moſt ſubject to deluſions, who have ſtrong Fancies, devout Affections, and weak Intellectuals. Therefore the *Jews* ſay,—*That a Religious man, who is a fool, is one of thoſe things that deſtroys the world.* Chriſt is wounded worſt in the houſe of ſuch *Friends.*

(*a*) *Nihil tam facile, quàm vilem Plebeculam & indoctam concionum linguæ volubilitate decipere; quæ quicquid non intelligit, plus miratur.* Hiero *ad* Nepotia.

If it be ſo, that every Sect may have liberty to chooſe a Prieſt: Thoſe that are not acquainted with Cajoling a Party; by dropping oyl into their Ears, and ſowing Pillows under their Elbows; but do endeavour impartially, to Preach up the Peoples Duty to God and Men; they may be Shepherds without any Flock: like a *Lodge in a Garden of Cucumbers:* left alone, with *Elijah;* and their Congregation as thin as the Grapes upon the Vine, after the *Summer Vintage.* Will not this make our fluent *Chryſoſtomes,* and our divine *Nazianzens* to hide themſelves in holes? And to ſay with *Moſes,—Send by him, by whom thou wilt ſend.* Thus the Church is like to dwindle, and wither away; not being re-

freſh'd,

freſh'd, and impregnated by your Breaſts, and by the Rivulets deriv'd from your Fountain. Darkneſs is like to overſpread her Territories, when the Luminaries abſcond themſelves in a thick Cloud. What then will be left, but flaſhy Meteors, and falſe Fires, to give an uncertain light? what an eaſie Prey will ſhe be, to the Attempts of her Enemies? when there are no Champions, to defend her Battlements. Though *Themiſtocles* was ſleighted by the *Athenians*, in times of Peace; yet in the Storms of War, they ran to him (ſays *Plutarch*) as to the *ſhadow of a Palm-Tree.*

Learned *Jewels*, *Hookers*, *Reynolds*, will be in account again, though ſlighted at preſent; when *Hannibal* ſhall knock at our Gates: when *Rome*, and *Munſter* ſhall ſet up their Standard againſt us. Looſe Chiding, and frothy Scolding, will not then ſerve turn; but then there will be need of the Sinews, of cloſe, and ſuccinct Reaſoning. The former victorious Trophies, and Triumphs, over their *Goliahs*, is enough to endear your famous Univerſity, to the preſent, and future Ages. Manlius *pointed at the Capitol, which he had preſerved, when he was accuſed before the Senate:* And he that was an Advocate for *Phryne* when the Judges were ready to condemn her, He cauſed her to open her Boſom, that ſo they might ſee her beautiful Breaſts, and her white Alabaſter Skin. This did ſo

melt

melt the hearts of the Judges, that they Absolv'd her. Thus, did your very Adversaries behold the Excellency of your Schools, the Soundness of your Learning, and the necessity of your Arts, both to defend, and adorn Religion: This would even inflame and ravish their hearts; so that they would be as much enamour'd with *Oxford*, as I have been.

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## CAP. III.

### *The* Indulgence *frustrates and lays waste, the fruit and success of all our Sermons.*

SIR! As you have communicated, and transferr'd to me the Occurrences of the University; and so have allay'd the Melancholy of my Countrey-Solitude; so (in an unequal exchange and requital) I have Rebounded unto you the Affairs of the Countrey. And because nothing has been more welcom to you, than to hear how it goes with the Church; with God's Ark: And those deserve to be look'd upon, as our best, and most faithful Friends, who are the heartiest Votaries for the welfare of *Zion*: If Religion sit close to their Hearts, we need not fear to Repose our selves upon their Laps. Therefore that I might satisfie your Pious desires, I inform'd you what Progress our Ministery

niſtery made in theſe Parts. I told you, where the Labourers in the Lord's Vineyard, were *Labourers* indeed; when they preach'd well, and liv'd well: There were ſcarce any *party-colour'd, ſpeckled Cattle* in our Flocks. Such as had been formerly great Diſſenters, *went with the multitude to the houſe of God*; joyning with us in Prayers, Sermons, and Sacraments: ſo that you would have ſaid in an holy Admiration,—*Who are theſe that come as Doves to their windows?* There were ſcarce any that did ſo much as mutter againſt our Doctrine, or Diſcipline; except here and there an over-grown Schiſmatick; or a ſilly Woman, who was as weak in her Reaſon, as ſtrong in her Paſſion: who in a Proud ſingularity, would not conſent to this Harmony; leſt ſhe ſhould be accounted no wiſer than her Neighbours. It's ſtrange (you'l ſay) ſhe would not be in the faſhion. If this Sex muſt be humour'd with the loſs of our Peace; we deſerve to be accounted Effeminate, as well as to be unhappy. *Luther* gave a good Anſwer to his Wife, when ſhe extoll'd one Preacher, and diſparag'd another. *Yes* Kate (ſays he) *you prefer ſuch an one; becauſe he Preaches juſt as you women Prate.* It has been Satan's Policy to work his Deceits firſt upon the Women, *Eve*, *Miriam*, *Job's Wife*. As the *Jews* ſtirred up *devout women* (in the Acts) to Perſecute *Paul*.

But

But whil'ſt our Tongues were running over with Praiſes; and our Hearts with Comfort, *to ſee of the Travel of our Souls*; and to behold ſuch a ſtupendious Bleſſing upon our Miniſtery; whil'ſt the Papiſts did even gniſh with their Teeth, to ſee us Concentre together in ſo happy a *Syncretiſm*, and to build our ſelves up in the ſame Faith, upon the ſame Foundation; in comes a Ball of Wild-fire, which ſcattered us into Corners. This unravell'd all our Webs, confuted all our Sermons, turn'd our Joy into Mournings; and in a moment caſt to the ground, what we had been many years in erecting. It is no wonder we little Artiſts have labour'd for the wind, in Preaching up Peace, Order, and Unanimity, for theſe ſeveral years; when that great Body, the Parliament, reap nothing but the Whirlwind; and have brought forth nothing but untimely fruit, for ſeveral Centuries. One bruſh of this Beſom, ſweeps away the Webs of all their Church-Laws. It was not ſo in the time of *H.* 3. for when there was a Motion, tending to the Retrenching of one Law; the Barons, and Earls gave this ſhort Anſwer——*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*: and good reaſon: for a City may be as ſafe without Walls; as a Kingdom, without Laws. Nay; as if the Plague of *Athens* had been amongſt us; we began to ſtand off, and ſtare one upon another, as if we had forgotten,

gotten, *That ever we went to the Houſe of God as Friends:* I am ſure you are ſuch an exact Maſter in Story, that you well know what is ſaid of *Thoſe that recover'd from that Peſtilence*; That *they were ſo ſtupify'd, that they had forgotten their neareſt Friends.* But though they are willing on a ſudden, to forget, and caſt us off, and to reject our Doctrines of Piety, Peace, and Obedience: yet, will they not return to their former Vomit? Have they forgotten to Judge? Cenſure? and to ſhed the blood of their Brethrens names? Have they forgotten to Sequeſter? and Baniſh? Had they but another *Declaration*, to Authoriſe them thereunto. The Lion (they ſay) may be ſo tam'd, that you may ſtroke him, and he may lick you; yet if his tongue (which is rough) draw the leaſt blood, with his ſlaver; he is ſo raviſh'd with the Savouriness of it, that he is put into a rage: So, the fierceſt Schiſmaticks may be ſo gentle, that they will fawn upon you for a time; yet if they do but taſte the ſweetneſs of Power and Liberty, you are in danger of begging a *Toleration* of them; who were ſo free, to let them looſe; and to take off from them, the Awe of Legal Reſtraint. If Beaſts break out of their own Paſtures, and feed on the other ſide of the Hedge; it will not be eaſie to reduce them from their wandring Purlieus, into their ancient bounds; many Children have been

been utterly undone, by too Indulgent Parents. I wiſh this *Religious liberty*, do not make them wanton in matters Civil; And that this Toleration in the Church; do not make way, for another in the State. Some Birds, when they are let out of the Cage, will not ſtoop preſently to the Lure. And Head-ſtrong Horſes, having once ſhak'd off the Bridle; will never ceaſe running, until they have thrown off the Saddle too. I have always thought that Regularity in the Church, and faithful Preaching there; has been the beſt School to educate, and train up the beſt and moſt conſcionable Subjects. Therefore, it was the Saying of a wiſe man, *That Schiſm is worſe than Corruption of Manners:* For that tends to the diſſolution of the *Compoſitum*; and this is but an ill humour in the Body, that ends in Death: This, in a Diſtemper. We ſee this in a mirrour before our faces How are we crumbled, as it were into Atoms, by the late Thunderbolt; who ſtood together, a little before, as an Army with Banners? terrible to our Enemies: lovely, and beautiful to our Friends. *How hath the Lord cover'd the Daughter of Zion, with a cloud in his anger, and caſt down from Heaven the beauty of Iſrael, and remembred not his foot-ſtool, in the day of his anger?* Sir, I am in ſo Tragical a vein, that I could even tranſcribe the whole Book of the *Lamentations:*

for we are not only broken into ſhivers; our ſtrength, and ſpirits waſted in vain; and our pleaſant fruit blaſted: But the Peoples ears are precluded, and ſtopt (like the Companions of *Ulyſſes*) that they will not hearken to our Charms. If we Preach up Peace, and Unity; this is to caſt Pearls before Swine, who are ready to turn again, and rent us in pieces for our labours. This is not their Element. They muſt have more of the Whirlwind. What? Preach up Obedience to the Law? This is little better, than Rebellion againſt the Law-maker: And Treaſon againſt the King. The wind is turn'd; and beats back our Arrows into our own faces; we told them formerly, of an ungodly War againſt the King. How juſtly, let Heaven and Earth bear witneſs! Now, they tell us, we are the King's Enemies, if we ſpeak a tittle againſt private Meetings; And this venomous ſhaft, pierces deepeſt of all. What? Shall thoſe that have pray'd, paid, fought againſt the King? Reproach thoſe for *Traitors*, who have loſt Blood and Eſtates, and jeoparded their very Lives for him? who Preach up Obedience and Loyalty to his Sacred Perſon, and Government. I dare ſay, that never any King, had a more Loyal Clergy. The poor Levites of old, did never put forth their ſtrength, more chearfully, to carry the Ark; than we do, to ſupport the Throne:

As

As if it were not only our Duty; but our Ambition, to *Honour the King.* I say not this, as if we did supererogate, or merit; but that we are most willing to do what we can, towards the Discharge of our Consciences, to *God,* and *the King.* And should the King think it fit, in his *Ratio de Stato*, to devest us of all our Imployments; and to put us under the very Harrows of our Adversaries, to tyrannize over us, as in the days of Yore; yet we would be as Zealous, for the Honour and Safety of his Sacred Majesty; as when we *wept by the Waters of* Babylon; *fasted* and *pray'd* for his Return to his just Inheritance. Nay! when we trudged many a Mile, to Persons of Quality, and Estates (who were propitious to us, in those days of *Persecution*) to pay some Tribute to their *exil'd Prince.* You well know, who *carried their Lives* in their hands; that they might convey it like *David*'s Worthies; they rush'd thorow the very Army of the Philistims, that they might refresh their drooping King, with the waters of *Bethlem*; and who they were, that were deeply engaged in all Designs, to dethrone *Olofernes*: that our Rightful Sovereign might be restor'd to his Crown; when some of these very Men, who are now shielded, and shelter'd under this *Indulgence*, said where is now your King? Nay! where is young *Tarquine? Ch. St.?* Just as *David*'s

Enemies insulted over him, in his distress, saying,---*Where is now thy God?* yet neither Reproaches, nor Threatnings (though we saw the blood of our *Fathers*, and *Brethren* shed before our faces) could abate our Resolution, and Courage in so good a Cause. Were it not for this; I should be like a man that passes over a narrow Bridge, and then looks back, and wonders how he came over; so should I be amaz'd, how we that were bred up in Calls, and wrapt up in soft Gowns, should pass thorow so many hazards; were it not, for the Integrity of Conscience within; and the Providence of a good God without: And what? are we transformed now? Are Men turn'd into Hogs, and Hogs into Men? If this Indulgence has made them loyal, to all intents and purposes; without Reserves and Equivocations; it is the best, and most wonderful effect it is like to work: for I perceive by sad Experience, That it is as difficult a work, thorowly to Convert one of these *Dissenters*, as to carry Mount *Caucasus*, upon one's back. I will assure you, I have laboured much, in convincing, and *perswading* some of them to be true Members of our *English* Church. The work was done in appearance. They seem'd to be, not only *Proselytes of the Gate*; but of *Justice* too. In every thing submitting to, and approving our orders. Yet when *liberty* of Meetings

was

was proclaim'd; off flies theſe *Demases*: like a company of Ducklings, hatch'd under an Hen: They follow her, and ſhe Hives them under her wings; but if they come near their own Element, the water; the Hen may cluck her heart out: They are turned Renegado's; and will have none of her company. And no wonder: for one of the *Bel-weathers* of this Flock, bleated formerly, like an harmleſs Sheep; as if he intended Unity, and *the healing Church-Diviſions.* But when there was tidings of an *Indulgence:* He turns his ſtyle; and ſtrikes up an Alarm, for Separation, and Schiſm. His word is,---*As you were:* He puſhes again, with his old Horns; which had been hid for a time, under wool; as the Viper covers his teeth under ſoft fleſh.

Sir! I fear, this melancholick Diſcourſe, has made you ſad: And indeed, who can be otherwiſe? that ſees the ſad fate of Religion: How it is gone backward, more degrees, than ever the Sun did, in the *Dial of Ahaz.* Not only the diſguiſed Sectaries, who were *perſwaded to be almoſt Chriſtians*, have returned to their former Vomit: They are as buſie, as ever; in undermining our Walls; widening our cloſing wounds; and pouring in *Wine* (without any *Oyle*) into them. But the prophane *Gallio's*, have their Conventicles too. The Ale-houſes ſtrut with theſe Companions; why, ſay they, may not we meet, and have our

liberty; as well as every Faction, has leave, to bandy together, and gratifie the Itch of their ſeveral humours? The very Peaſants can tell us, if we give a check to their Extravagancies---That now, *they have liberty of Conſcience.* And this is not ſtrange in them, when ſome Lawyers have mooted the Caſe; *Whether there be any Penalties remaining, for Drunkards, and Whoremaſters?* Thus the meer Moraliſt, and Natural man, who is inclin'd to Atheiſm, is hardened againſt all Religion. And that Sect amongſt us, who ſeem to be moſt Zealous for Religion, in obſerving the Chriſtian Sabbath (as it on a ſudden, they were become Ranters) do's moſt ſcandalouſly prophane it. I know, this word will be ſwallow'd with much Kecking, and reluctancy; yet let the beſt of their Caſuiſts, ſtate and determine it otherwiſe if they dare: After they have conſidered with themſelves impartially, Whether it be not a breach of the Sabbath, to Run or Ride ſix or ſeven miles on that Day, to hear a gifted Preacher; when they might have heard the word of Truth and Salvation, rightly divided, and applied at home. Is not this to play the Wantons, with thoſe things which are moſt Sacred? Is not this, to ſlight, contemn, reproach, and diſcourage their own painful Miniſters, *who watch for their Souls?* and to teach others to do ſo, by their example: when God himſelf has

has Commanded, to reverence, and honour him, with *double honour*. Nay! let them lay it close to their hearts, Whether these Transactions do not savour of the *Mystery of Iniquity*. I know they are forward enough, to lay this Brat at the doors of *Rome*. And for me; let it lye there: yet 'tis worth their second thoughts, Whether such dealings are not *Iniquity*? yet a *Mysterie*; because they are crusted, and cover'd over, with a pretence of Piety, and Devotion.

I know, you will wonder, that they are so forward, to leave wholsom, and solid meat; to run after Kickshaws. Will you give me leave to divine? They are in pain, and do Penance in keeping off their hats; and kneeling in the publick. They are of *Judas* his mind; that all is *wasted*, which is spent in an outward Reverence, and a bodily honour upon their Maker. They must be more familiar with God: sit *cheek by Jole* with him; and be *hale fellow well met*, with the Almighty: that they may reason the Case with him (if need be) upon even terms: As when they said, Lord! why did'st thou leave us in the *West*? Why did'st thou forsake us at *Leicester*?

But whil'st our *Religioso's*, are thus traversing their ways, it is pretty to observe; how the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, do salute and embrace each other; who could

ſcarce agree together, in our Remembrance, in the ſame College, City, or Kingdom. yet now they throng together into the ſame Parlour, Hall, or more ignoble Apartment. *Herod*, and *Pilate*; *Manaſſes*, and *Ephraim*, have joyn'd hands againſt *Chriſt* and *Juda*. And that you may ſee, what Wonders this *Indulgence* worketh, Thoſe that pretended weakneſs, and diſability of Body, to go a ſtones throw, to their own Churches: They would ſigh, as if they were ready to expire, if we deſired their Company there: yet now, they can riſe early in the morning, and Gallop ſeveral Miles, to a *Meeting*. The King (you ſee) is a moſt Sovereign Phyſitian: He can heal all Maladies, and Diſtempers; He can make an old decrepit Sectary, to find new legs, and new ſtrength, and to grow young again, all over. Before you lay down your Admiration, concerning theſe Ænigmatical men, tell me, if you can, how thoſe, that have lifted up their hands to Heaven, in the *ſolemn League and Covenant*, againſt a toleration of other Religions; can kiſs the golden Calf of a *Univerſal Indulgence*; and yet tell us, we go about to wound their Conſciences; and perſwade them to be perjur'd: If we perſwade them to declare---*There is no Obligation in the Covenant*, let the next Age expound theſe prevaricating Riddles.

I know they ſay, we value our Reputations ſo much; that we are loth that others ſhould ſhare with us. And have we not a Cauſe? If our Credit be ſtain'd, our Preaching will be of little moment. *Alexander* got moſt Victories, by the glory of his Name. Did not St. *Paul* complain of thoſe who would *exclude* him out of the Affections of the People? Therefore, to keep our names intemerate, and free from the ſullying breath of calumniating Traducers; 'tis not a vain affectation of Honour, but a neceſſary means, to make our Miniſtery effectual.

They tell us too, that we have our Tithes allow'd us ſtill: we may gnaw our Cruſt in a corner, without ſnarling at others. True! if our aims in taking on us this Angelical Office were ſo low, as only to look after the Loaves, and the Milk, without any care of the Flock. As if a man ſhould marry a Wife, meerly for Portion; and then ſuffer her to be proſtituted to the Luſts of other Men. Nay! It is the ready way, to expoſe us, to the Scorns and Affronts of our People; to give us their Tithes, and yet to allow them liberty, to chooſe their Miniſtery; for the Country People do not dote upon ſuch as take their Tithes. Therefore if they cannot be avenged on their Parſons any other ways, they will leave them in their Pulpits by themſelves.

CAP.

## CAP. IV.

### *The* Indulgence *Confutes our Books, which have been written in the behalf of Conformity.*

BEsides other Malignant Influences, which the ſad Comet of a *Toleration* ſheds abroad: Though it cuts our hearts deep enough, to have our People raviſhed out of our Boſoms; and decoy'd out of our Aſſemblies: For theſe are our *glory*. (*b*) And you know, who ſaid it; that he had *rather die*, than that his *glorying* (in the progreſs of the Goſpel) *ſhould be made void*; yet there is another fatal diſaſter, which attends the motion of that Monſter. Some have endeavoured by their Pens, to vindicate their Mother-Church, from the Imputation of being an Harlot: and have aſſerted, that ſhe requires nothing that is *ſinful*, in order to her Communion: How this has been manag'd in an Argumentative, and Perſwaſive way: How the *Policy*, *Government*, and *Liturgy* of the Church, have been defended, you are not ignorant; and other Learned and Pious men, are abundantly ſatisfied. But now, on a ſuddain; ſome there are, who being ſheltered under

(*b*) *Pro officio Sacerdotii omnes Chriſtianos filiorum loco Diligimus, & profectus eorum, noſtra eſt gloria.*

under the Command of this Toleration (as if they were men of *Gath*) have with one breath blow'd away all the Paper that hath been written: One tells the world in Print, *He that thinks, that ſuch toyes, as Mr.* Fulwood, *Mr.* Stileman, *Mr.* Hinckley, *&c. ſhould ſatisfie them, He thinks contemptibly of their Underſtandings.* But Sir! Is this a ſufficient Anſwer to all thoſe Books? to call them *toys*: without attempting any thing in particular againſt them. Who will care, what Volumes were written againſt him? if the meer calling them *toys*, were an Orthodox Confutation. When you diſputed in the Schools, would you have taken it, for a good Anſwer? if your Reſpondent had Nick-nam'd your Argument; and cry'd *nugæ!* As if he had triumph'd, before the Victory. Yet here is a Thraſonical Fencer comes upon the Stage; looks ſcornfully, cryes piſh! And then his deluded followers (who are no ſmall number) take it for granted; That whatever has been ſaid for Conformity, is quite overthrown.

But he goes on. *Let him procure us leave, but to publiſh our Reaſons againſt Conformity, and then let him tell us, that we were better Conform, when he hath anſwered them. 'Tis eaſie to talk, when none muſt Confute him, and to brave it againſt one whoſe tongue is tyed.* You may imagine this man ſtanding, with his hands upon his ſides, ſtrutting, and vaunting;

vaunting; as if he would beat down all before him with the fierce aſpect of his Eyes. As if he would fly over the *Alps*, had he but the wings of an Hawk; and that he would hew us all in pieces; had he but *Scanderberg*'s Sword, *Let him but procure us leave, to publiſh our Reaſons againſt Conformity.* The man is grown modeſt, and mannerly: He has done as much as this amounts to, formerly, without asking *leave*. But what need is there of elaborate Reaſons againſt *toyes?* muſt Cannons be planted againſt a Paper-wall? Are there any Laws ſo Draconical? Severe? and Keen? as to hinder any man from anſwering *toyes?* Or has this Champion nothing elſe to do (*had he leave*) but to encounter Flies? *Non vacat exiguis, &c.* one would think: He could ſhew as many feats, as a Mountebank's man; if his hands were untied: or that he had ſtrange Diſcoveries in his Budget; only the mouth of it is ſeal'd up, and tied with a Gordian knot.

He complains that *his Tongue is tyed.* If he had ſpoken the truth; their had not been much loſs to this part of the World. Had his tongue been *tyed*, with a Cable-Rope, to his Jaws, Ill betide him, that ſhould cut it! for by ſo doing, he would have looſed a Chain, that had hamper'd a wild Beaſt; and pluck't up a Floodgate, that would indanger another Deluge. Thoſe that have known

this

this Author for above these thirty years, never knew him subject to this Infirmity, or once guilty of such a Distemper. His tongue has been rolling in his mouth continually. And ever and anon (like Mount *Ætna*) has belch'd forth some wildfire; wherewith he has scorch't those that stood in his way: this is not that *Ignitum Eloquium* which was said to be in St. *Bernard*. His tongue has been like a troubled Sea; casting up *dirt* and *mire* into the face of the Church. He has been no more *Tongue-ty'd*; than some of those poor wretches in *Bedlam*, that rave day, and night; or some Impetuous chiding Women, whose tongues do seldom take any rest, longer than they are hush't, and silenc'd; or as it were ty'd to their good Behaviour, by a dead Sleep.

I am sure, you read better Books, and place your time better, than to stoop to Canting Gibberish. But we in the Country, either for want of Money, to buy the Volumes of the *Greek* and *Latine* Fathers; or else want of Skill to understand them: or leisure to read them, are forc't to take up with Pamphlets in our Mother-tongue; such as the *Pedlars* furnish us with, at our Doors. Among others, this *Tongue-ty'd* Scribe, furnishes us with the greatest plenty. His pregnant Invention, voids a Book, almost every Month. He is as fruitful as a Rabbit. Nay! He tells

tells the world, he made ſome of them (as that *of the Grotian Religion*) in four, or five days.

He had little cauſe to ſay, *'Tis eaſie to talk, where none muſt confute:* whereas, we do not find that he either fears Laws, or Men. Nor can any man give him a word; but he has receiv'd three for it. You may as eaſily *bind the Influences of* Orion, or ſtop the ebbing, or flowing of the Sea; *as tye his tongue*; or be a *Remora* to his Pen, in the career of Writing. But,

*Quid tanto dignum feret hic promiſſor hiatu?*

what muſt we expect, when this Mountain? this *Behemoth*, ſhall groan, and bring forth? Some Maſculine Offspring ſure. If ſo, It is more than all the Non-Conformiſts have hatch'd theſe hundred years. *T. C.* ſaw as far into this Controverſie, as *R. B.* yet what ſaid he? which did not receive a full, and Adæquate Anſwer, from Archbiſhop *W.* Others have but lick't up his Vomit.

It may be (with *Bolſech*, or *Aretine*) this great Undertaker may ſnort out his foam; and be-dirt us with his Reproaches: But if neither he, nor his, might have a *Toleration* of all Religions, until they can evince by Dint of Argument, that they cannot have Communion with our Church, *without Sin*: ſo that

that there is a Neceſſity to *come out of her*, and ſeparate from her: we need not feat, that our peace and quiet ſhould be diſturb'd, either by the lowing of the Oxen, on the one hand; or the braying of the Aſſes, on the other.

But Sir! Take notice of his Threatners Ingenuity, and Candour. He would make the world believe, his tongue is *ty'd*: He cannot Print his Sentiments, on this Subject. I am inform'd, and I dare ingage to make it good, That after he had complain'd of this Obſtruction; and had in many Sheets of Paper, reaſon'd againſt Conformity; he receiv'd Anſwers accordingly, from one of thoſe Perſons, he taxes for *toys*; and mentions with Scorn. Yet when it was freely offer'd him, that the Papers on both Sides might be Printed; that ſo the world might ſee, what he could ſay, againſt the Oeconomy of our Church, and our Compliance with it; then this daring Hector declin'd his own Motion: and in cold blood, refuſed; that his Reaſons (ſuch as they were) ſhould ſee the light: Accuſing him of *diſhoneſty*, that ſhould venture to do it; yet, as if he were quite another man, upon the publick Stage, than what he was in the private tiring Room; He ſays in his late Book, and to the ſame effect in a former: *Let him procure us leave, but to publiſh our Reaſons againſt Conformity: then let him*

*him tell us, that we were better to Conform; when he hath anſwered them.* He had leave: And what Reaſons he propos'd, have been anſwer'd. But you know, the followers of a baffled Cauſe, muſt be animated, and their Spirits ſupported; not by what is; or has been done: but by the bold brags of their Leaders, what they will do for the Future. Juſt like a Prodigious Coward, that never looks more fierce with his Eyes, or ſtruggles more violently to aſſault his Antagoniſt; than when the ſtanders by (who are his beſt Friends) hold his hands, and pinnion his Arms. It is a fond Preſumption, that *Cæſar* is their Friend, which puts ſuch Spirit into them. If they once find that he tolerates them, as God permits Sin; we ſhall hear no more of their Challenges.

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## CAP. V.

*Private Meetings are not like to Aſſiſt, or Promote the Publick Miniſtery.*

THis is ſtrange (ſay they) that Publick Miniſters, ſhould not allow, and abett Private Meetings; when both carry on the ſame Goſpel-work. Is there not need of many hands? and all manner of Help? to advance the Salvation of Souls? Yet many hands

hands ſometimes do marr the work they are about; ſeveral Chirurgeons, do but inflame the Wound, if they do not agree exactly upon the Ingredients of their Balſom. And variety of Phyſitians, do not only protract the Patients Malady, but indanger his life; If they go ſeveral ways. Therefore our Saviour gave moſt excellent Counſel: That when in the latter days, Men ſhall ſay, *Here is Chriſt, or there is Chriſt. He is in the wilderneſs: or in the private houſes*; Nolite exire, *go not after them.* When *Joſeph*, and *Mary* ſought Chriſt *ſorrowing*; they found him at laſt in the Temple. It was never his choice, but neceſſity, if at any time he betook himſelf, into Corners or Private houſes. When it was objected to the Primitive Chriſtians, that they were *Latebroſa, & lucifuga natio*, a People Sculking up and down; *Origen* anſwers in their behalf--That they might thank the Heathen for it, who would not ſuffer them to meet in Publick. I am ſure, our Corner-hunters cannot juſtly uſe any ſuch Plea.

In what a diſmal Condition is the poor Pilgrim? if he ſhall not only meet with Croſs-ways, but Croſs-guides. Every one may pretend to put him in the rightway, until they have quite diſtracted him, by their Directions: As thoſe Suitors in *Plutarch*, did all profeſs a paſſionate Love for one Maid, yet at laſt, they fell to ſuch Contention about her, that they tore her in pieces.

Sir! I am an Abſolute Stranger to my ſelf, and falſe to my Profeſſion; if it be not my hearty deſire, that *Iſrael*, I mean, that all the People under my Charge, may be ſaved. I Envy no man's Parts, but rather Rejoyce; if he be more dextrous than my ſelf, in *Salvation-work*. I would even part with a ſhare of my own Maintenance to ſuch an one, who would come in, and with a ſingle eye, and a ſingle heart, aim at, and help forward the Good of Souls. Yet *I am Jealous over my People, with a Godly Jealouſie.* And though I dare not ſay (with him at *Rome*) that I am *Sponſus Eccleſiæ*, an Husband to that part of the Church, which is committed to my Care and Truſt (I leave that Prerogative to Chriſt himſelf) yet I am as careful, that my People do not commit Spiritual Fornication with any Impoſtor; as the deareſt Husband is tender of his beloved Wife, that ſhe be not debauch'd by Adulterous Companions.

When Miniſters walk by the ſame Rule, and maintain one *ſound form of words*, as it was among the Apoſtles, and is ſtill, among thoſe that have ſubſcribed the ſame Articles of Religion, and the ſame form of Worſhip; then they may be Coadjutors, and lend an helpful hand, one to the other. But as an Oxe, and an Aſs, will not Plough well together: nor was it allow'd in the Tabernacle,

to

to have Hangings, and Curtains, of *Linſey-Woolſey*: So Non. and Con. (which carry ſomething of Oppoſition in their very Names) are not like, whilſt they continue ſo, to build well together. But as it was of old, one will call for Mortar, the other for Stones; and neither agree where to place them. Nay! One, it may be, will pull down what the other has ſet up. If theſe be Stars, they are not ſuch, as are in Chriſt's right hand, but in the *Dragon's Tail*; like *Ignes fatui*, they will only afford ſo much light, as to ſhew the way into pits, and quagmires. They may cry up Godlineſs; but 'tis without Goodneſs: And they may be Chriſtians, but without Chriſtianity.

How Natural is it for Men, to procure fame to themſelves, and leave others under Reproach? Thoſe People, whoſe Religion ſeldom deſcends lower, than the Head, and the Tongue: And learn no more by a Sermon, than to Cenſure and Judge the Preacher, will end all their Devotions, in admiring the one, and deſpiſing the other; or may be, like Scholars of different Maſters, may draw out into Parties, and bandy againſt each other; ſo there will be

——*Pila minantia Pilis.*

It is no Art of Prophecy, to Divine, what will be the iſſue: For, *As the loweſt*

*Virtues draw moſt Praiſe, from the Common People*: So ſaith the ſame Lord *Bacon*; *A few that are ſtiff in a Faction, will tire out a greater number, that are more moderate.* They have this Advantage too. They are ſure of the People's affectionate Pity: for let the Cauſe be what it will, they will always incline to thoſe that are lowermoſt; and like Sturgeon, they will ſwim againſt the ſtream; and be weary of thoſe, that are in preſent Office. Therefore *the violence of Factions, argues the weakneſs of Princes*: *For when they are carried audaciouſly, it is a ſign, that the Reverence of Government is loſt.* And then you know what follows. If a Son hath parted with his awe towards his Father, he will pay but little Obedience to him. Therefore our late bleſſed Sovereign, gave this Divine Advice to our preſent Monarch,--*Neither to fear, nor flatter any Faction: for if ever he ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their courteſie, he will be undone.* It is to be fear'd, that theſe hot, and buſie Factioniſts, will be no better Friends at laſt to Magiſtrates themſelves; than they are to us, and our Miniſtery. They begin already to Muſter up their Companies, and with *David, to number their People.* Some of them are *Captains of Thouſands*; and ſome are *Captains of Hundreds*: And there are not thoſe wanting among them, who are too well acquainted with

with Military Diſcipline; as not to have their Field Officers abroad, to Marſhal their whole Body, and to give *the Word*. If another General ſhould ſtart up: The Peoples Darling: An Heir to his own Diſappointments; and ſwelling with his own Diſcontents. Eſpecially, if he ſhould weave the *Covenant* into his Colours; and Ingrave *Reformation* upon his Standard. I even Tremble to think what Thunder and Lightning may break out again from our Clouds. Herrings, they ſay, when they come in Sholes, may deſtroy a whale; And a Town in *Theſſaly*, was undermin'd with Moles. Small Diſtempers in the Body Politick (as well as in the Natural) muſt be diſarm'd, and prevented in time; we read of a Cloud, but of a Span long; the breadth of a man's hand: yet in a ſhort time, it dyed the whole Heavens black. Theſe are no Panick Fears, nor Groundleſs Surmiſes: for I have heard ſome of them glory in their Multitudes; and others gave me no other Reaſon, of their Riotous Aſſemblies; than thereby to Counterpoiſe the Papiſts. He ſpake like a Royal Prophet---That *pretenſions to Reformation of Religion, are the beſt and moſt Auſpicious beginnings, of the worſt deſigns: for the Devil of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angel of Reformation.*

When the *Puritans* Petition'd King *James*, for the like Toleration, and ſaid,——*Many*

*Thousands would be discontented if it was not granted*; This was accounted by the King, and his Council, to tend to Sedition, and Rebellion.

Where is the Good, then, that is to be expected from these *Assistants*? Confusion is their Advantage; I had almost said, Their Design. They value not Kingdoms, when they stand in their way. And if the *Cedars* are not safe; it is no wonder, that some of them have said to my face, that had they Liberty, they would soon Preach us down. Is this the *Assistance* they will give us? Are they so purely Spiritual, as to labour for the wind? Is this the way to keep up, and maintain all their Softnesses? Will they not *grudge*, if *they be not satisfy'd*? And will not the People murmure, if what they get by their hard Labours, must be divided into so many Channels, and feed so many mouths, besides their own?

And what? Must the People do nothing but hear? Must there be nothing else but *sowing* of Seeds? Nothing but Preaching? In some places four, in some six Sermons a day. No time for the settling the Seed of the Word in the furrows of their hearts? for ruminating, and digesting what is heard? Superfœtation is monstrous in Nature; and the turning all Religion into Hearing, is as if you should see a man all Belly, or all Ear.

Do

Do these Men grow more than others, in the dimensions of Religion, by their gadding up and down? I have seen Sheep kept within their bounds, in a Barren and hard Pasture; yet by resting quietly in their own Limits, they have gathered Wool, and Flesh upon their Backs; when those that have crept Hedges, and have gone from one ground to another, have lost their Fleeces, and have been little better than Carrion; so, many plain honest Countreymen, who live contentedly under the droppings of that Ministery which God hath providentially set over them, thrive more in real goodness, than these *Disputers of this World*; who are hurried up and down, with an *Oestrum* of Curiosity, and devour innumerable Sermons; yet at last, are like *Pharaoh*'s lean Kine. They have pass'd thorow so many brakes; that their Consciences are torn, and become as peel'd and Schismatical, as themselves.

The Mothers Milk, is most kindly for the Child: Several Nurses will put the little one into a disorder, and trouble him with a fret in his Belly. He that is the Rightful Pastor, the *Sheep know his voice*; *and a Stranger they will not follow.*

This is as true, as Scripture. But where there is one sort of Prayer, in Private Meetings; Another, in the Publick Congregation. One way of Preaching and Discipline here;

Another there. This may puzzle, and diſtract, it cannot edifie. *Charles le Bon*, and *Charles le Grand*, ſpake like himſelf; when he ſaid, *The Company of Miniſters obtruded upon him in his Confinement, were more ſad, than his Solitude; for he could not conceive, How they could be proper Phyſicians, who had ſo great an Influence, in occaſioning his Calamity, and inflicting his wounds upon him.* May not we ſay the ſame? Are they like to be our *Aſſiſtants*, in promoting the work of Peace? Piety to God? Loyalty to the King? And mutual kindneſs towards all Men? who have been ſo Induſtrious formerly in ſubverting all theſe; and ſtill continue in the ſame Sin, without any open Repentance; who are to this day, *thorns in our ſides*; and keep our wounds from cloſing, who buzze the People in their Ears, that our way of *Worſhip* is Superſtitious: bordering upon Idolatry: That our Conformity is *abſolutely ſinful*: And that we, are no leſs, than guilty of Ungodly Oaths, in *Subſcribing, and Declaring*. Thus *they have been as Serpents in our way, and Adders in our paths*. Some of our People, who would ſeem the only *Haſidæi*, or Holy Men in their Age (whom they have not yet thorowly perverted into *Separation*) will out of formality (ſome are *formaliſts*, who would not be thought ſo) come to our Sermons. Yet they ſit in their Seats, *gaping* and *yawning* (though very attentive

attentive formerly) As if they had not ſlept the Night before; or rather, as if they were weary of their preſent ſtation, *i. e.* (thought long e're they were in their own Meeting-houſe; As I have ſeen *Cows* impatient, until they return to their *Calves.*

*Neſtorius* the Heretick, was called a *Snake*; for this very Reaſon, becauſe he lurk'd in Holes to do miſchief ſecretly by his venom, and his ſting. The *Donatiſts* alſo, were call'd *Clancularii*; and the *Valentinians* were compar'd to Graſhoppers: In that they ſculk'd here and there, and hopp'd up and down to intoxicate Men, with their ſly Inchantments; and keep them from Imbracing the Truth, *in the love of it.* So it is with our whiſpering, tranſcendent *Beau-Clerks*; let the Publick Miniſter (if by Mr. *Med*'s leave, that title may be allowed) be never ſo Learned, and Pious: never ſo dextrous, at *the Dividing*, and *Applying* the *Word of Truth*; yet when they meet with their Partizans, and Comrades in Separation, they will find out, or invent ſomething concerning his Perſon or Doctrine; that they will ſhake their heads, liſt up their eyes, bleſs themſelves, and pity the *poor wretch*, before they part. It may be, they may allow him to have ſome unſanctify'd Wit, or prophane Learning: But not one ſcrap of Grace. *He was never acquainted with the turnings and windings of the Spirit:*

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*A cold formaliſt*; one that may go to School to one of their *Heavenly Teachers*. Thus men loſe their Judgment, *cum res tranſit in Affectum*; when they are byaſs'd with the partiality of their own Paſſions. But *quorſum hæc?* Why all this do you think? Why, Juſt as *Abſalom* complain'd, That *none were deputed by his Father to do Juſtice*; therefore he wiſh'd himſelf in the Saddle, in the *Throne*. *O that I was King in* Iſrael! *I would do every man Right*. They would Preach like ſo many *Seraphims*, if they might aſcend our Pulpits; and turn us again out of our Houſes. Therefore 'tis almoſt as credible to me, That a *Muffti* will aſſiſt a Chriſtian Patriarch; That a *Jeſuite* will help a *Reformed Prieſt*: a *Lutheran* go along with a *Calviniſt*: Nay! a *Samaritan*, a *Jew*; *James and Jambres*, *Moſes*: As the Leaders and Guides of Houſe-Meetings, will help forward the peaceable, Regular, Soul-ſaving deſign, of ſuch Miniſters as are ſettled in their Provinces, and Charges by Law: And do conſcionably conform to the juſt Commands of their Superiors.

This is no wonder; the old Serpent is a Serpent ſtill. He is not ſuperannuated; nor has he put off his deſtroying Policy: As, *firſt to divide and break the Bond of Unity*; And then, to cruſh the whole Community, by Piece-meal. Firſt, to tempt ſome to follow

low *Paul*; others *Apollo*: And then, to take them off from both. Neither *Paul*, nor *Apollo*; not *Jesus*, but *Barabbas*. And thus, Those that *make their boast* of Religion, are most likely to *dishonour God*; by being the chief Pioneers to Undermine it.

## CAP. VI.

*There is no Necessity of an* Indulgence; *that there may be* Preaching from House to House.

THere is a *Notion* flies abroad, That Ministers must *Preach from house to house*. And if the Publick Minister cannot spare so much time from his Studies; why should others be hindred from so good a work? You may guess from whose Quiver this Shaft comes, and whither it goes: who were the first Promoters of it; and upon what Errand, it is set forth; *You know the Men, and the design of their Communication.*

Here is a narrow *Isthmus*, or Bridge to pass over; on the one hand, we must not strangle the Embrio's of Religious Attempts; or quench the sparks of an heavenly Zeal; nor seek for subterfuges, either for our negligence, or idleness, in declining any Ministerial Duty. On the other, we must not make our

our ſelves more work, than ever God injoyns us: leſt we ſhould be either guilty of will-worſhip, in ſerving God according to our own Inventions: or bring ſuch a burthen upon our Shoulders; which neither we, nor our Fathers were able to bear. And ſo, by doing what is leaſt of all requir'd; we may omit what is more neceſſary.

Now ſince thoſe words in the Acts, κατ' οἶκον, are the foundation of this Aſſertion; And they are look'd upon, but as Demi-Miniſters, who do not go *from houſe to houſe* (like a Company of *Ale-taſters*, or *Eaves-Droppers*) to pry and ſearch into all the Corners of their Neighbours houſes; I wiſh, that others underſtood the ſenſe of thoſe words; and how they are render'd, by Learned Men, as well as you. Some ſay, they are to be underſtood, of the Biſhops ſuper-inſpection, in his Viſitation; Others, that from *houſe to houſe*, is meant the (*a*) *Upper Rooms*, or Chambers in the Temple, where the Chriſtians met, for fear of the Jews, to Pray, Preach, and receive the Sacrament; for the ſame St. *Luke* ſaith,--the Apoſtles *were continually in the Temple, bleſſing and praiſing God.* But that we may come nearer yet, to the Male-contented Brethren: who will be ſure to Reproach, and *Accuſe* us, before our People, for going wrong, If we do not tread in their ſteps;

(*a*) See Dr. *Cave* On *Primitive Chriſtianity.* Pag. 127.

ſteps; we can tell them truly, that in ſome Senſe, our Liturgy, and Canons, do both allow, and injoyn us to *Preach from houſe to houſe.*

If any be Sick, we muſt viſit them; move them to Repentance for Sin: and upon their Repentance, Abſolve them; by virtue of that Authority, which Chriſt hath bequeathed to us. After Prayers with them, and for them, we ſtir them up to Acts of Charity, *&c.* that ſo they may with more comfort, commend their Souls into the hands of God. I hope there is no Conſcionable Miniſter, but he lays hold of all Overtures, to preſerve the Souls of his People, from the Jaws of Satan; and Rowſes up himſelf, to aſſiſt thoſe that are in extremity of bodily weakneſs, or lye under the Scruples of a troubled mind. Thus we *Preach from houſe to houſe.*

It is our buſineſs alſo to reconcile thoſe that are at variance; to confer with Recuſants; And when we have any good Call to any Houſe or Company; we endeavour to undeceive thoſe that are ſeduc'd: To inform the Ignorant: And *Reprove gainſayers.* If this be to Preach *in Seaſon, and out of Seaſon:* or *from houſe to houſe:* we are ready to acknowledge it our Duty, and to take ſhame to our ſelves, if we come ſhort of it. There are alſo, many other Caſes of Conſcience, which may Incidentally, and occaſionally fall in; wherein

wherein we are obliged ever in private, to give what Satisfaction we are able. As alſo to diſcourage, and keenly to *check* Scandalous Offenders: To *Comfort thoſe that are caſt down*: To anſwer pertinent Doubts, and neceſſary Queſtions, which may be propoſed unto us.

Suppoſe the Apoſtles did practiſe any other ſort of private Preaching; yet, they have not left any Precept behind them, to bind us thereunto. And who dare ſay that we are bound in every thing they did, to follow their Example? Conſidering, what they did, was in the firſt Plantation of the Goſpel; and in dayes of Perſecution. Neither can it, with Reaſon be imagin'd, that in thoſe dayes, they went into all Houſes univerſally; as into thoſe of the *Phariſees, Sadduces, &c.* for then they had been Prodigal, in expoſing their Lives; neither had they leiſure ſo to do, when every one had ſo large a Dioceſs, as ſeveral Countreys, and Kingdomes to preach in: and ſo ſhort a time to ſtay in them.

He that performs the former Offices faithfully; beſides publick preaching, and Catechiſing, (if it be lawful to diſtinguiſh betwixt theſe two) provided, he ſet off all, and adorne his Doctrine, with an Holy Life; Chriſt will own him, as his Ambaſſadour: though, it may be theſe Capricio's will ſcarce ſet *him*

*with*

*with the Doggs* of *their Flocks.* Our Saviour *ſpake openly to the World; He ever taught in the Synagogue and the Temple, whither the Jews Reſorted.* And in *ſecret he ſaid nothing.* The Apoſtles alſo excuſed themſelves, that *they no where raiſed up the People.* But where they could with ſafety, they Reſorted to the Synagogue.

The old Canons did not allow Clergymen to be too frequently in Towns. Then they were accounted to be as much out of their Element, as to ſee a Fiſh upon the dry Land; *Facilè contemnitur clericus*; ſaies St. *Jerome.* That Clergy man will be ſoon deſpiſed, That makes himſelf, ſo cheap, and common, as to go to every Feaſt, and place where he is invited. If *his lips preſerve Knowledge, the People are to ſeek the Law at his Mouth.* Chriſt taxes the People, that they would not come to him. Though, ſometimes *He was found of them that ſought him not.* He that teaches School, does not go to ſeveral Houſes, where his Scholars dwell: but thinks he diſcharges his Duty, if he teach them, when they meet in the place appointed for them.

If we ſhould go to all Houſes, and deal with the People there, in private; how ſoon might we wound our Names? and bring a Scandal upon our Perſons? Beſides other Reproaches. This would too much reſemble

falſe

falſe Teachers: who had *only a Form of Godlineſs, without the Power thereof, who crept into Houſes, and led Captive ſilly Women.* This Practice has been very ſerviceable, to ſuch as have made it their Buſineſs, to ſet up for themſelves; and to make Parties in the Church. *Great has been this* Diana of the *Independents*, and other Sectaries. But, *we have not ſo learned Chriſt.* Wo be to us, if we preach not the Goſpel publickly; when we may. Such Aſſemblies are moſt for God's Honour: And Wo be to them, that attend not at *the Poſts of Wiſdom's Temple*, when there is no invincible Impediment to keep them back, and prefer Peſt-Houſes, before the Gates of Heaven. You know, who ſet up an Exerciſe of *Prophecying* among Miniſters. This was very plauſible in its time; yet afterwards there was Cauſe to diſcontinue the ſame. And if this Preaching *from Houſe to Houſe*, has ever been uſeful to the Church of God; there may be Reaſon enough now, to forbear the Practice of it (ſince it is not of Divine Inſtitution) when ſo many ſpeak in the *Language* of *Aſhdod*, and under this Pretence, may eaſily Inſinuate their Hetrodoxies, into the minds of weak, but Well-meaning People. Thoſe that are ſo minded, may *bring in damnable Hereſies*; and countermine all our Labours, by this Jeſuitical Stratagem: So that we ſhall weave *Penelope's* Webb. Beſides;

ſome

Some there are, who will have none of our Divinity. They will even thruſt us out of their Doors; others are poor, and muſt maintain themſelves, and their Families, by a diligent following of their Callings. And no doubt, but they may ſerve God on the Week-days, as well in their honeſt and conſcionable labours, as if they ſhould every day hear a Sermon; Therefore to tender our ſelves, to interrupt them in their Vocations, by our Preaching unto them in ſuch a Land of light; under the very Tropick of the Goſpel, will either beget in them a Nauſeating of God's Word; or elſe it will be as unſeaſonable unto them, as *Singing the Songs of* Zion, *to thoſe that ſit by the waters of* Babylon. Every Maſter of a Family, is a *Prieſt* in his own houſe. And after we have done our Duty in the Church; we muſt leave ſomething for him to do at home; otherwiſe (it may be) he may become a Drone; and devolve his whole care upon us. At leaſt, he will be ſlack, and ſluggiſh, as to the Publick. He will not care to go to the Market, If others muſt Cater for him; and bring his Meat to his own Doors. We our ſelves alſo, ſhall have but little time to ſtudy in, if we muſt be Domeſtick Chaplains, to every Houſe within our Precincts. Our Breaſts will quickly be dry, if we do not ſupply what is exhauſted; and *give Attendance unto Reading*; as

well as to *Exhortation.* There had need be as many Miniſters, as there were *Dii penates*, among the Heathen: And the Doctrine of theſe Men, doth ſuppoſe the Lord's Vineyard ſo furniſh'd with Labourers; that there may be one allotted to every Tree. A Guardian Angel to every Houſe. But there lurks a Serpent under theſe Verdant Leaves. They would ſet up *Preaching from houſe to houſe*; either that there may be matter of oſtentation, to glory in their ſingular diligence; How often have we heard this from the Preſs? And the Actors themſelves have been the Trumpeters! or elſe, there are ſome, who under this Umbrage, would ſow *Tares*, in the furrows of our Field; and give a vent to their own Singularities, and Diſcontents. May we ever give thanks unto God, *in the great Congregation! May Jeruſalem be as a City that is at Unity in it ſelf! and may the Tribes have liberty to go up thither to worſhip*; that ſo, *Thoſe evils, which the craft and ſubtilty of the Devil or Man worketh againſt us, may be brought to nought; that we his Servants, being hurt by no Perſecutions, may evermore give thanks in his Holy Church, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.*

CAP.

## CAP. VII.

*A Toleration of all Religions, is not like to contribute to the welfare of the King himself.*

THe *true glory of Princes* (said the Royal Martyr) *consists in advancing God's glory, in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches Good.* And as it is a Prince's Glory, so it is his Safety and Security to Countenance the truth, and to discourage Error. When the *People chose new Gods*, we presently read, *That war was in the Gate. By me* (said God) *do Kings Reign.* And as they Reign, by his powerful Assignment: so they should Reign, for the glory of his Name, and the Comfort of his Houshold, the Church; here they must be *Nursing Fathers*: the Guardians of his Spouse: And the Keepers of the first Table, which concerns Religion towards God; as well as of the second, towards Men. Christ is no Polygamist. He has not a Wife in every Corner. Unity is an Essential mark of the true Church. It is a sign of the last times--to say, *Loe! Christ is here*: or *loe! he is there.* It argues no less, than proud Donatism, to say, the true Church is in this Conclave, or the other Town-Hall; exclusively to other places. The Papists are

not the only Uſurpers, and Ingroſſers in the World; confining the Church, within the compaſs of the ſeven Hills: Every Sect is guilty of the ſame incroachment: And though ſome of theſe, are contrary one to the other; yet every one will lay claim to ſome kind of Infallibility. They would be look'd upon, as the peculiar Darlings, and choſen People of God; almoſt to the diſpaleing and Reprobating all the reſt. Now, It is the Honour of Magiſtrates, firſt, to diſcern what is the Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith; and then to Shield and defend the ſame: leſt, if they ſhould ſuffer God to be Blaſphem'd, by various, and contrary Modes of Worſhip; they ſhould not only, not ſhew themſelves to be God's *Vicegerents*, and *Defenders of the Faith*; but provoke his wrath againſt themſelves, for the not keeping up the Mounds of his Vineyard; I had almoſt ſaid, for laying it waſt. The breaking down the Hedge; and the not maintaining it, is almoſt Tantamount. And the Hogs that root up the Garden, are not more Acceſſory to the defacing of it; than thoſe that let them in. Where God's Honour, and the Churches Peace and Unity, are not aſſerted; There it will be interpreted little leſs, *than taking counſel againſt the Lord, and his Anointed.* Qui non vitat peccare, &c. And will any dare to *run upon the thick Boſſes of his Buckler?* There is a ſad Text in the tenth

tenth of *Hoſea*. *The Princes of Juda were like to them, that remove the bound.* That is, They neglected the Laws, which were as *bounds* in matters of Religion. Now it was a great Sin in the Law,--to remove the ancient *Landmark*. Therefore it follows in that Text--*I will pour out my wrath upon them like water.* *Joſiah*, and *Hezekiah*; *Conſtantine*, and *Theodoſius*, have embalmed their Names to all Poſterity. The former, by *beating down Idolatrous Altars, and Groves.* The latter, by encouraging the true Chriſtian Religion, not only againſt its open Enemies the Heathen: But defending it too, againſt the *Arrians*, and other dangerous Hereticks, who endeavour'd, in the very boſom of the Church, to eat out the very Bowels of it.

Thoſe Churches have been moſt commended, which have been moſt Zealous for the Truth, againſt thoſe that have oppos'd it. As, the Church of *Epheſus*--That *ſhe hated the Doctrine of the Nicolaitans.* The Church of *Thyatira* was condemned; becauſe *ſhe ſuffered the woman* Jezebel, *who call'd her ſelf a Propheteſs, to teach, and ſeduce his Servants, to commit fornication*; that is, the impure Gnoſticks. The Lord had alſo a quarrel with the Church of *Pergamus, that ſhe ſuffered them that held the Doctrine of* Balaam. And if theſe things be blameable in *Churches*; it cannot be

for the Honour of the chiefeſt Magiſtrates (who are the Supreme Governors of them) to ſuffer *Jews*, and *Gentiles*; *Barbarians*, and *Scythians*; *Parthians*, *Medes*, and *Elamites*; *Papiſts*, *Arrians*, *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Quakers*, to ſet open their Shops, and expoſe their Trinkets, in their Dominions: for though theſe look ſeveral ways; yet they are mov'd and carried about, with one and the ſame *Primum Mobile*, or Spring of Confuſion. Miſerable *are the People that are in ſuch a Caſe.* As once it was in *Iſrael*: when *every one did that which ſeemed good in his own Eyes.* It ſhew'd the Impotency of *Julian*, that when he ſaw, his Cruelty would not abate the Zeal of the Chriſtians: *He gave every one leave to follow his own Religion.* This is not the Caſe of our *Conſtantine*: His Garments are not dy'd with the blood of his Subjects: nor are our Streets proplan'd, with the doleful cries of poor Orphans. But by mildneſs, clemency, and gentleneſs; both he, and his Subordinate Officers, had made ſuch a Conqueſt upon the hearts of the People; that even by the *Cords of love*, they were drawn into an happy Harmony: except ſome few Obdurate Caitiffs; who can only be melted, and ſoftned by an hotter Element. But alas! There comes an unlucky wind out of the wilderneſs, which on a ſuddain blaſts all our Hopes: and throws all our Doors from off

their

their Hinges. All the Bars of our Gates are broken. Come Foxes! Come Leopards! Here's a free, and open paſſage; we ſhall be an eaſie prey: who will, may ſport themſelves in our gore; and lay waſt our *pleaſant Plants.*

Although *our Laws*, were almoſt aſleep before this Hurricano came; yet the very Image, and Picture of them, did fright away the Birds of Prey: The Woolf durſt not Approach our Folds, ſo long as there was but the Reſemblance of a Maſtiffe-Dog: But now theſe *Terriculamenta*, theſe Scare-crows, being taken away, the Laws being fallen into a Swoon, I had almoſt ſaid, the Laws being extinct; the Frogs Croak up and down, in every corner. I hope they will never be ſo impudent and ſaucy, as thoſe were in *Pharaoh's* days; to hop, or dance their Hays *in Kings Chambers.*

By this, you will eaſily ſee, that this *Indulgence* is not the way, to procure God's bleſſed favour upon Magiſtrates, and their Government; nor does it tend to their ſafety: for though theſe *Diſſenters* ſeem to be Innocent harmleſs Creatures; without either Tuſhes, or Talons; yet they have rooted and avowed Principles in them, againſt the Grandeur and Majeſty (if not) the very Being of Kings; and though they fawn at preſent, and bleſs God, who *hath put ſuch a thing as*

*this, into the heart of the King:* and are ready to say,—They have a *greater share in* David, *than we*; yet, let but a warm gleam ripen them into Maturity: let their Fangs, and *Sampson's Locks* grow out again, or let them be cross'd in their darling *Dalilah*; by brideling them up from their beloved *liberty*, and then, will they not lift up their heels? or Curse him to his Face? Looking backward, in this Case will be looking forward: And History, will be down-right Prophecy.

*Pelle sub agninâ, latitat mens sæpe lupina.*

You Remember, that when the late King *Declar'd*, That the Right (according to Law) was in him, to *Arrah* his Subjects for the Defence of his Person, and Government: And accordingly He did Commissionate many worthy Persons, to put the same in Execution; that not one of these *Dissenters* would Comply with that *Declaration*. When also He Prohibited any to take the Covenant, by his *Royal Proclamation*; Do you call to mind any one of these *new Royalists*, that did obey it? But now there comes out a *Declaration* (Mouth-meet) which throws the Reins upon their own Necks; and permits them (like unbroken Colts) to go whither they will: and now, who better Subjects than

they?

they? What? Not *obey the King's Declaration? It is their Duty.* So that ſhould the King rule by Edicts, as our Stories tell us His Predeceſſors have done, before the Reign of *Henry* the Firſt, who began the Foundation of Parliaments; theſe men are like to be his moſt ſequacious, and obſequious Followers: Ready fixt; to make him an Abſolute, and Glorious Prince. Some, it may be, will be ready to add, Yes; as they did his Father before him: For I much fear, That if it ſhould pleaſe His Sacred Majeſty, to ſet forth another *Declaration,* (to try the temper of their Obedience) to Reinforce the Laws, concerning Epiſcopacy, and the Liturgy; that theſe Men would not then obey the ſame, for *Conſcience ſake.*

It is ſtrange to ſee, what queazy Stomachs theſe men have; one Morſel, which is Cook'd to their Palats, they will ſwallow without chewing: And at another, which is every whit as wholſom; they will ſputter, as if it were Poiſon. Mr. *Baxter* himſelf has had Experience of this Inconſtancy.

If he call upon them to Confederate, and aſſociate themſelves in Private Meetings, they ſay, he is return'd to his *firſt love,* and his old Principles: But if he tell them of his receiving the Sacrament on his Knees, and call on them to ſtand up at the Hymns in the Common-Prayers; then they ſay he is an Apoſtate.

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It may be, this Indulgence (like a thick Gobbet) may ſtop their mouths at preſent. The King may ſleep ſecurely for a time; whil'ſt *Jacob* and *Eſau* are ſtruggling in the Womb; whil'ſt *York*, and *Lancaſter* are in *Æquilibrio*; poiſed in an even Ballance: But alas! this would be but a ſerene Calm before a Tempeſt: The drinking a Cup of Wine, before a Feveriſh Fit; or a lightning before Death: for whoever, either by Power, or Policy, can get ground of his Fellows, and leave them in the Valley; will be ſure to ſhew their predominant Power, not only to their Competitors, but to the Government it ſelf. It hath been a fallacy, which ſome have put upon themſelves; that pity and gentleneſs will indear, and oblige theſe *Diſſenters:* But he that calls to mind, how dear one Prince has paid already, for his *lenity* to them; may have a Clew, wherewith to extricate himſelf out of that Error; and may alſo undeceive others. It is pity that Kindneſs (as we ſay of fair Weather) ſhould do harm. But as Panthers are choak'd with Perfume; ſo Mercy it ſelf degenerates into Cruelty, and ſometimes brings Ruine after it.

St. *Auſtin* confeſſes, it was once his Judgment, That no Compulſion ſhould be us'd in matters of Religion. Yet he lived to ſee his great miſtake: For he found by Experience, that by puniſhing one Offender; who was

Refractory,

Refractory, and turbulent in his *Dioceſs*; He did more good, than by all his *wooing Orations*. Such Libertines, are like Birds put into a Cage. They flutter at firſt; but when they ſee themſelves coop'd up, they'l ſtruggle no longer, to get into the open Air; rooſting quietly in their narrow Confinement.

I have not wonder'd a little, to read ſome of their Books, wherein they complain Tragically of *Priſons* and *Gaols*. Three Perſons are named, who have ſuffer'd in this kind, for their Diſobedience, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Baxter*, and Dr. *Manton*. But if we would go about to requite them with our Arithmetick, we could reckon for every one of them an Hundred, who were (in the time of their Tyranny) clap'd under Shipboard, or ſtarv'd. But what did thoſe three men loſe by their Impriſonment? What *Ignatius* ſaid of his *Fetters*; He *look'd upon every link, as made of precious Stones*: So may theſe men glory, in their *golden Chains*. Some of them got more by a Weeks Impriſonment, than we get by Preaching a whole year; ſo that a Gaol was as beneficial to them, as a Biſhop's Palace; and to Confine them, was to ſet a Fine upon the Heads of the Zealous Citizens. Thoſe that know the Idiotiſm, or proper language of theſe times, can tell, that by *doing of good works*, is underſtood, Liberality to

*Diſſenting*

*Diſſenting Miniſters.* I condemn no man's Charity; yet I ſhould be loth to be an Object of theirs. Therefore, may our *tranquillity be lengthened*; and the King's *Throne Eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs!* by the due Execution of Laws; which are both our Birthright, and Security; leſt we be conſtrained at laſt to beg in vain for that Indulgence, which they now Injoy.

The neglect of a ſpeedy Reforming, and effectual Suppreſſing of Errors and Schiſms, will both encourage, and increaſe them: for though at firſt they may ſeem like that *Cloud* in Scripture, of an *hand breadth:* yet by Seditious Spirits, they will ſoon be blown up into ſo large Dimenſions, that they will *darken the whole Heaven.* It has been accounted a great overſight in Q. *Elizabeth* of Bleſſed Memory; that ſhe gave too much liberty to Foreign Divines, to Preach in *London*, and other places, until they had leaven'd the minds of her Subjects, with prejudice againſt her own Government; and had almoſt introduc'd the Platform of *Calvin* into the room of it.

The ſmell of thoſe miſtaken flames of Charity are upon us, until this day. So many Iliads of miſchief are contained in the little compaſs of an unſeaſonable Connivence. It does not only Ruin Churches, but Princes too. As Impunity is the Mother of Impiety towards

towards God : So, tolerated Libertines, will quickly prophane the Hallowed Diadems of Kings.—*They are all hot as an Oven, and have devoured their Judges : All their Kings are fallen,* Hoſea 7. 7. Habent hoc Proprium Calviniſtæ, ut ſtatum, in quem irrepſerunt, evertant : neq; antè ipſi Conquieſcant, quàm rerum potiuntur.

Theſe men nibble already, at the very root of the Royal Cedar, By telling the King's Subjects in Print,—That *they are not oblig'd in Conſcience to obey Magiſtrates, and their Laws.* An ill requital ſure for the King's gracious Indulgence. What? Do you thus requite the King? O Ingrateful and unkind! If Conſcience be once debauch'd, with ſuch Principles as theſe; the Throne will loſe its principal Pillar; and the King will find himſelf weakened, by theſe treacherous Prieſts, and undermining Popelings, who go about to Abſolve his People from the very Ligaments, and Sinews of their Obedience, which is never more genuine, generous, and laſting, than when it is *for Conſcience ſake.* This is all one, as to tell the King to his face, that it is his ſafeſt courſe to guard himſelf with the Power of Arms: For if ever he be ſo unhappy, as to take a meaſure of their Conſciences, they will make no more ſcruple to Dethrone him, than they did to Depoſe his Father. Men without Conſcience, are like Maſtiff-Dogs, when

when they grow mad; or Lions (which have been tamed) when they recover their natural fierceneſs: They ſhake off all awe to their Maſters, and Keepers; neither will they boggle at taring them into Pieces. How turbulent theſe Men are, when they are let looſe, may eaſily be gather'd from ſome few ſmattering Diſſenters, of this kind, in our own Pariſhes; who are errant Firebrands, where they live. There is not a Difference betwixt Neighbours, but they are at one end of it; blowing up and inflaming Contentions, by their Whiſpers and Nods; and by their Pragmatical Intruding into other Mens matters: As if they were injur'd, if they are not look'd upon; as the only Competent Judges, and Umpires of all Conteſts; where any place is bleſs'd; with ſound peace, and quietneſs; there theſe Men are un-elemented: They ſtarve, and pine away; unleſs they can make, what they do not find. And ſince one or two of theſe Innovators, are ſo pregnant with quarrels, in our narrow Precincts; what Earthquakes? what a Conflagration? will theſe vapours, theſe ſparks raiſe? when they are encourag'd to Conglomerate, and to Unite their Forces, in the Bowels of a Church or Kingdom. There is a Tradition of ſome Parliament-men; when it was diſputed, whether Prieſts ſhould Marry. They cry'd out, yes! by all means. It was better they

they ſhould have Wives of their own; than be too buſie (as they had been) with other Mens. So, It were better, theſe Diſſenting Brethren had Dioceſſes of their own; than that they ſhould be ſuch buſie Incendiaries, in other Mens Biſhopricks. If they ſay, *Nolumus Epiſcopare*; It is, becauſe they deſire to be Archbiſhops; I had almoſt ſaid Popes, and Overſeers of the whole Church.

## CAP. VIII.

### *A Toleration does not tend to the Happineſs of the Kingdom.*

HE that has time to Ranſack Stories, will find how fatal, ſmall, and inconſiderable *Meetings* have been, to the downfall of States, and Kingdoms: either in letting in a Foreign, and profeſſed Enemy; as it was in that Conventicle met together in the *Trojan Horſe*: or by maſtering, and bringing under the Governours of them, by devilliſh Contrivances. Who knows not? that the Gunpowder-Treaſon was hatch'd in a Conventicle? And that *Holy League* in *France* derives its Pedigree from the ſame Original. Therefore to prevent ſuch Aſſemblies, our wiſe and jealous *Conqueror*, caus'd the *Corfeu bell* to be rung; which was to give warning,

warning, to break up all *Meetings*, by the covering of the Fire, and putting out of Candles. I know it will be ſaid, Theſe Meetings were upon a Civil Account, to contrive Plots and Deſigns againſt the State, and ſuch are unlawful ſtill: But theſe Meetings now, are for the Worſhip of God, in a way of Religion.

Now this is a diſtinction without a difference. The members of it are Co-incident, againſt the Rules of Logick. For there are ſeldom any Meetings upon pretence of Religion (except in times of Perſecution) but they degenerate at laſt into Shops of Sedition: That which is cry'd up at firſt for the exerciſe of pure Religion, will at laſt ſend forth the dreggs of State-Confuſion. Let us alone, ſay they, to ſerve our God; *we deſire no more.* This is the *Voice of* Jacob: but e're long, you ſhall ſee the Hands of *Eſau*, red, and bloody. When Mr. *N.* (like another *Cataline*) began to Aſſociate his Friends together, in a *Religious* Meeting (if it be not a Barbariſm, to call Hell it ſelf by ſo excellent a Name) ſome diligent Obſervers will tell you, that it was not long after, but Swords were drawn in this Kingdom, in an unnatural War; when vapours begin together and to Cnndenſe into a cloud, though but a little one, it portends a Storm: It may be, it may end in Thunder and Lightning. And you well know

know who it was (in the Wane of Rebellion, and in the declining days of Uſurpation) that gathered a Church out of the Officers of the Army: And this Comet did preſage the downfal of that Pageant, who was acting his Part, and Perſonating a little Infant King, upon a Royal Stage; or rather, he had drawn the Curtain, entef'd the Scene, and e're he had made his Legs, and paſs'd his Complements (like a *Meteor*, or *Jack-a-Lent*) he diſappears, and vaniſhes. It was but juſt; that as that Bloody Tragedy began, ſo it ſhould end in a Conventicle.

Sir! If you have time, to reſolve into their firſt Principles, The *Sicilian Veſpers*, and the Inſurrection of *John of Leyden*. I ſay, If you trace them back to the Spring head, from whence they flow'd: you ſhall find them all hatch'd in Conventicles, gather'd upon pretence of Religion. So that, when I conſider this preſent *Indulgence*, I have great hopes, that our wiſe and gracious Sovereign, by the Relaxing of the Laws for a time; and by the Confuſions, that follow thereupon; do's but make it appear, by a viſible demonſtration, how neceſſary it is to hold a ſtraiter Rain in the Government of the Church for the future; As the *Lacedemonians* ſuffer'd their Servants to be Drunk, that their Children might ſee the Ugline's of that Exceſs: And the *Perſians*

*ſians* (after the Death of their Kings) ſuffer'd a perfect Anarchy for five days; that this confuſed *Interregnum* might make the People more in love with Government afterwards.

It is the great Policy of that Circumciſed Infidel, the *Grand Signior*, that he by the greateſt Circumſpection, keeps out any ſuch *Indulgence* out of his Empire; nor will he ſuffer this *Simon* to come within his Walls: whereby he do's not only preſerve what he has gotten, but do's ſtill inlarge his Territories. Therefore, he will not ſuffer his Religion to be blended with any (though of the *Perſians*) how near ſoever it may be to his own. The *Romaniſts* too, by their *Inquiſition*, begin to be like thoſe *Mahumetans*. The *Children of this world, are wiſe in their Generation*, to maintain their Notorious Errors: How much more ſhould we be wiſe in guarding the Truth?

But if what has been ſaid, will not inforce the veracity of the *Theſis*—That *a Univerſal Indulgence, do's not tend to the Happineſs of the Kingdom*, caſt your eyes abroad, into other Nations. *Poland*, and *Holland*. It is too far to ſend you to *Jeruſalem*, for a miſerable Preſident of Religious Madneſs. Theſe nearer home, have been branded for harbouring all Religions. So that it has been a Proverb—If any man has loſt his Religion, He may find

it

it in *Craconia*, or *Amſterdam*. And have not theſe People been viſited for this? You have heard of the ſad Alarm againſt *Poland*. *The Lion is rouſed out of his Thicket, the Deſtroyer is on his way.* Nay! He has made a bloody Progreſs. *Be wiſe now therefore, O ye Kings*; Be careful to compoſe your quarrels, and keep Schiſm out of your Territories, *O ye Judges* of the Chriſtian part of the World! And as the *Turk* is *the Rod of God's anger* againſt the one; ſo are the *French* againſt the other: Who can tell, but that their Miſcellaneous Hotchpotch of Religion, to the diſhonour of their Maker, has pull'd down theſe ſignal Judgments upon their Heads? I know, ſome will point at another Cauſe of theſe Miſeries; and that is *Rebellion*. I will not contend with them; nor have they any reaſon to diſſent from me: If they conſider, that Schiſm, and variety of Religion, is either the *Mother*, or the *Daughter* of Rebellion. When Princes have a mind to take their Eaſe, and their Pleaſure; and that they may do ſo the better, they give their Subjects leave to do ſo too, by doing what they liſt; they do but ſet them a work to gather ſticks, to ſet their Palaces in a flame.

There is not much difference, whether we Blaſpheme God in our own Perſons; or ſuffer others to do it, when we have Power to hinder it. Thoſe that worſhip-

ped the true God, and permitted Idolatry, are ſaid in Scripture, *not to fear God*, or *ſerve him at all.*

When an Houſe and *Kingdom* are divided againſt themſelves, they cannot ſtand. And are there any Diviſions ſo bitter? and ſo deſtructive? as thoſe that ariſe from Religion.

Therefore as it was with the Image in *Daniel's Viſion*, it moultred down, and ſhattered apieces; becauſe it was *part of Gold, part of Braſs, part of Iron*, and *part of Clay*: So, that Church muſt needs come tumbling down, which is part for *Chriſt*, and part for *Belial.* The farther we go from Unity, the nearer we come, either to Nullity, or Deſolation. And therefore the *Philoſopher* thought the Heavenly Bodies to be incorruptible, and eternal *à parte poſt*; becauſe they were a pure *Quinteſſence*, free from the dreggs of *mixture*; and ſuch contrary qualities, which incline other Bodies to Corruption. If there be any thing will make a Kingdom Immortal, and keep it from a Palſey of ſhaking Tumults, it is a Uniform Harmony in Religion; which is the very Vital Spirits, and Soul of the State.

That good man, Mr. *Ball*, has left it upon Record, *where there is a voluntary ſeparation, from the Lords Table, and Prayers of the Congregation, there is a willing Excommunicating*

*our*

*our ſelves from the viſible tokens of the Lord's preſence.* Now, one of your young Sophiſters, will eaſily Infer. *If in God's preſence there is fulneſs of Joy:* where this is withdrawn from any Nation, there muſt needs be the fullneſs of miſery. As Darkneſs follows, upon the Removal of the Sun-Beams.

Some will ſay,--This Toleration will Advance the *Trade*, and *Intereſt* of the Nation. Sir! I heartily wiſh for the proſperity, and Wealth of my Country. May our Corn, and Wine; our Wool, and Flax increaſe! And may our Merchants become *Nobles*, like thoſe of *Tyrus!*

*India mittat Ebur! Mittant ſua thura Sabæi.*

Yet thoſe Riches will bring a Curſe, a Fire-coal along with them; which are gotten with the loſs of Piety, and Holineſs. What Advantage will it be, to be rich in the World, and poor towards God? To have a fat Carkaſs; but a Meagre, and lean Soul? To defend the Out-works, and loſe the main Fort? To get *Mammon*, and to part with Religion?

## CAP. IX.

### *A Univerſal Indulgence is moſt likely to end in Popery, or Atheiſm.*

NOw we are come to the *Mare Mortuum*; whither all theſe Rivulets, and multiplicity of Religions, are by their ſeveral windings, bending their Courſe; either they will carry us *beyond the River Tyber*; from whence we have been brought by a good hand of Providence, under the Conduct of Pious Princes. They will Reduce, and bring us back to the *Roman* yoke: Immerſe us in this *Lerna* of *Uncatholick* Innovations, and Superſtitious Inventions of Popiſh will-worſhip. As the juſt ſcandal, which *Luther* took at Popiſh Indulgences, brought him off from that Church: So, this Indulgence now on foot; if not timely controul'd, is likely to decoy many into the Church of *Rome* again: Or elſe they will bring us into a curſed Indifferency, whether we have any Religion at all: Methinks I ſee the Atheiſt, and the Papiſt holding out their necks, and gapeing for a prey: As if they would ſwallow up our Reformed Religion, at one Morſel. And were it not that there are many faithful *Daniels* in the Land, who pray'd the King formerly

merly into his Throne; and now are wrestling with Heaven in his, and our behalf: I should much fear, that our whole Land, would become a great Cage for these unclean Birds; and that these *Dragons* would devour the *woman*, and *her Child*; and Adulterate, or quite overturn all the true Worship of God, in the midst of us.

I know the Devoto's of our Age will startle at this: What? They open the Floodgates to let in Atheism? who stand up so much for *Godliness*: or, Are they like to bring in Popery? who have lifted up their Hands, and *Covenanted* against it. True: But did not *Peter* Vow and swear as heartily as they, That *He would not deny his Master?* yet our Saviour *saw what was in his heart.* Did not they *Covenant* too, to preserve the late King in his Person, and Honour? But they never intended to make it good; nor to move a Hand or a Tongue in his behalf.

Did not *Hazael* seem to abhor the *ripping up of Women with Child?* yet you know what follow'd. If *Orpah* will forsake *Naomi*; *She will return to her People, and to her God.* And if these *Dissenters* will renounce our Reformed Church, and lay their *loins* upon it, to break it into Shivers; they will at last (when they have wearied themselves in their own *Mills*) endeavour to fix the Plants of their Feet upon some *Ararat*, or other. Sure, they will de-

ſire to live and dye in ſome Church; or in a Communion, among ſome People, profeſſing ſome Religion; with *Balaam, They will deſire to dye the death of the Righteous.* Otherwiſe they muſt declare, as too many do already, (I will not ſay thorow their means) that they are *a People without God in the world.* What Muſick? What Triumphs are we preparing for *new Rome?* How can we gratifie the Pſeudo-Catholicks more, than by pulling down the Pale of our *Engliſh* Church? It is this, which ſtands in their way. Take this Rampart down, and the Pope will hope to recover his old Revenues; which have formerly exceeded thoſe of the *Crown:* The Prieſts and Jeſuits will be contriving to ſet up Maſs in our Churches, and to domineer in our Pulpits. And ſome *Bonners* (it may be) if we cannot out-run their Rage, will be thinking of making Bonfires again with our Bodies; our Diſſenters, all this while, are like *Gallio—They care not for theſe things.* They go on with a *Munſterfury*, in their ſeparate Meetings; pulling and rending the very Bowels of their Mother aſunder; As if (like *Nero*) they could never be ſufficiently reveng'd of Her that gave them life, and dandled them on her Knees. I know, they will *wipe their mouths*, and deny the *Concluſion*; though they lay down the *Premiſſes.* They will not ſee what Confuſion

ſion they are bringing in upon us. Although it is as eaſie to be diſcern'd (without a Spirit of Prophecy) upon their proceedings; as it is to diſcover a Lunary Eclipſe, upon the foreſight of the *Interpoſition* of the Earth, betwixt the Sun, and the Moon. It may be; when with *Sampſon*, they have pull'd down *our Gates*, and *Pillars*; and lye crawling together with us, in the rubbiſh; they may then whiſper us in our Ears,—We *never thought, that this would have been the effect of our Schiſmatical, dividing Principles and Practices.* At preſent they bear themſelves up, againſt all hazards; and disbelieve all plain Predictions; as if they ſhould ſtill enjoy Peace, and Proſperity; *though they walk in the ways of their hearts, and in the ſight of their own eyes*; becauſe their followers are ſo *many*: There are ſuch *ſwarms* of Diſſenters in all places, enough to out-face all the Power of *Rome.*

It is true: They grow into vaſt numbers, in moſt places: But *Xerxes*, and the *King of Aſſyria* were not therefore Victorious, becauſe their Armies were very numerous: *Mazzanello*, and *John* of *Leyden*, were mere Squibs, and Pop-Guns; though attended with an innumerable Rout of followers. So theſe *Diſſenters*, not marching under the Banner of God's Church, will find themſelves to be like a Land-flood. They may roar and ſwell

for

for a time; and like *those Locusts in the Revelation*, they may *have Power to do hurt for some Months*; but they will soon shrink within their Banks, and become a contemptible Adversary to those that are wedg'd, and united into one Body; and with *Marius*, do always march in rank and file. Those *Veterans* of *Rome*, have espied their nakedness; how that they are a loose multitude; not cemented together with any Principles; and therefore will soon be scatter'd like a Flock of Sheep, when their Eagles come once amongst them. Hence it is, that most of them use that liberty, which is afforded to them, *calmly* and (to give them their due) *modestly*: when our Furioso's do even run themselves out of breath; until they lose their way, and themselves: For they know, that by keeping their Stations, and standing their ground, they shall break all the proud waves of their giddy Opponents, and quench their wildfire. These deluded wretches are going so fast towards *Rome*; that *Rome* may save her self the labour of moving one foot towards them. The time was; these Men were full of *Jealousies*, and *Fears*. They dreaded a Pope in every bush. They *were afraid, where no fear was*, but now they are fool-hardy, and rush into the Pope's Conclave, without either fear or wit.

Sir!

Sir! I must now pause a little; and fetch my breath *very deep.* My heart has been sad and heavy, as lead, all the time I have been writing unto you. But now, my Spirits have such a damp upon them, that I can scarce form another Letter.

It was my great Joy—to see the face of a Church to Return, together with the King. And though I had but little to leave behind me; yet it was my Comfort, that my Posterity was like to *Inherit* a pure Religion, in the best Church of the World. This was the richest Portion, I had to Bequeath unto my surviving Family. But when I come now to look about me, there is such a Change, so many *Undutiful Daughters* sprung up, that are ready to pull out the Eyes of their *Mother.* The poor wafaring Church is fluctuating betwixt wind and water; and struggling for life; and the *Ravens* are ready to devour her. So that I cannot promise my self the Injoyment of that happiness, which once I hoped to transmit to those that were to come after. These pensive and melancholy thoughts and fears, are very much inhanc't, when I consider the Confusions of *Holland:* A place much fam'd for Integrity of Religion, and a Sanctuary for the Distressed; yet the Inhabitants hereof, have so long encourag'd *all Religions,* until at last, they have scarce any at all. Profit is *become their Godliness*; and Gain is their Idol.

Idol. And becauſe *they did not receive the love of the Truth*; but proſtituted this Virgin to be adulterated by every Sect; God firſt gave them over to *ſtrong Deluſions*; and then made them a prey to the teeth of their Enemies. So that, what Religion is like to be Predominant; or whether any at all, Time only will ſhew.

It is obſerv'd, that before the late Rebellion in *Ireland*; there was an Indulgence of Religion; at leaſt, by way of Connivence. The Prieſts and Jeſuits had liberty, without controul, to exerciſe their Religion: and preſently after, we heard the Tragical News, that no fewer than an Hundred and fifty Thouſand were murder'd. The *Preſent State of* Ireland, *p.* 134, 135, *&c.*

When *Julian* went about to bring in *Heatheniſm*, he firſt ſcoffed at the Chriſtians in general: And then he derided the *Prieſts* and *Preachers* amongſt them, as a Company of Dotards, and ſuch as taught the People *Old Womens Fables*. He well knew, that the ſlighting of the Prieſthood, and bringing it into contempt; by levelling and laying it common with the Laity; was the moſt Compendious way, to overturn all Religion.

Never were there a People ſo deſtitute of Reaſon, but they owned ſome God; And then it followed of courſe, that ſome *Prieſts* were to be maintain'd, to aſſiſt the People in

the

the Service of that God. And it has been the ſpecial Honour of Kings, to defend and countenance *theſe* in their work. One that was much vers'd in the Antiquities of the *Jews*, tells us, That whil'ſt *Solomon* was aſcending thoſe ſix Steps, which led to his Throne; the Herauld cry'd aloud,---*Meddle not with the Prieſts Office.* How things go with us, in this kind I need not tell you. If we have been acceſſary to this contempt, which is caſt upon us by our *Idleneſs*, *Pride*, *Earthlineſs*, may we Reform, or elſe, may we be caſt forth as *Salt*, which *has loſt its ſavour*, and let better be put into our places, that ſo the Church may not ſuffer for our ſakes. I know your Sentiments do jump with this Prayer; for you have often ſaid,——That no men do more reſemble the Prince of Darkneſs, than debauch'd, and unworthy Clergy-men. Yet I think it is a Problem, which will puzzle you to tell, which are moſt dangerous to the Church. Thoſe that ſtand up for Loyalty to the King, and Regularity in the Church, yet ſtain both, by their looſe and irregular lives; or thoſe that transform themſelves into ſo many Angels of light: Cry up Religion and Purity of Worſhip; yet affront and wound the Church by their *Spiritual Pride*, and ſtubbornneſs, in not yielding to her juſt Commands. When St. *Paul* wrote to *Timothy*, to *flee youthful Luſts*; it is thought, he did

did not mean thoſe of the lower, and ſenſual Appetite as Drunkenneſs, Uncleanneſs, &c. for he was call'd upon to *Drink ſome Wine*, but wantoneſs in the underſtanding: Pragmatical, and Hot-headed Courſes. How happy would it be, If there were a καταρτισις: If all Members out of Joint, *thoſe* and *theſe* were rightly ſet, and rectified? If all the Miniſters of the Goſpel, did ὀρθοποδεῖν, *make ſtrait ſteps*, without declining to *prophane looſeneſs* on the one hand; or *factious unpeaceableneſs* on the other. Then we might hope to ſee our Church to flouriſh like the *Garden of Eden*; when ſuch *Cherubims* ſhall be the Keepers of it. Then we need not fear (*Auſpice Chriſto*, *Auſpice Carolo*) that either Atheiſts, or Papiſts ſhall lay it waſt.

But it is time to check my ſliding Pen; when I have firſt begg'd your Pardon, for my interrupting your more weighty Studies with ſo Prolix, and tedious a Diſcourſe. You may well gueſs by the bulk of it, that it comes out of the Countrey; for we are ſo accuſtomed to beat our plate thin; by dilating, mincing, and inlarging our Sermons, that they may ſuit with the Capacity of our People; that we forget our Laconick ſtrain, to ſay much in a little; even when we write to our betters. I look not for a Requital from you, in length. If at your leiſure, you vouchſafe me ſome few Lines by way of Return

(provided

(provided you do not chide me for my Countrey Rudeneſs) it will be very comfortable in theſe days of Deſolation: And nothing can be more welcom, in this Solitude of a Country Retirement, To him that is Ambitious to be

Your Devoted Friend and Servant.

*Aut tranſeamus ad illa inſtituta, ſi potiora ſint: aut nova Cupientibus auferatur dux, & Author. Ut imperium evertant, Libertatem præferunt: ſi perverterint; libertatem ipſam aggredientur.* Tacitus.

"I infer this Concluſion, in deſpight of all "black Devils, and white Devils; Hereticks, "and Hypocrits; That the Reformed, and "Conformed Proteſtants, in the Church of "*England*, do juſtly Condemn both Papiſts "and Puritans, as Upſtarts, and Noveliſts; "in removing the moſt ancient Bounds of our "Forefathers.

"Concerning Schiſmaticks, and Separa-"tiſts; they be worthily ſirnamed Noveliſts. "For their Platform of Government, is a "new Device which no Fathers ever witneſ-"ſed; no Councels ever favoured, no Church "ever followed; until within theſe few years, "it was unhappily dug out of the *Alps*.

"Therefore

"Therefore they that forſake the Church of "*England*, to Suck the Breaſts of *Rome*, or "*Amſterdam*, may cry with *Naomi*,---*I went* "*out full, but the Lord hath cauſed me to Re-* "*turn empty*. Dr. *Boys* in his Remains, *p.*152, "153. 166, 167.

"*Nulla periculoſiora vitia, quàm quæ virtu-* "*tem imitantur : Nam præterquam quod bo-* "*nis etiam lubricus in ea lapſus eſt, nulla dif-* "*ficilius corriguntur, propterea quòd vulgus* "*imperitum, Religionem violari credit, dum* "*iſtiuſmodi Reprehenduntur. Reclamet ilico* "*mundus, & oblatrent clamoſi quidam Concio-* "*natores, qui iſta libenter intus Canunt ; non* "*ad Chriſtum, ſed ad ſuum Compendium reſpi-* "*cientes*. Eraſmus Enchirid. p. 101.

Eccleſ. 8.11. *Becauſe Sentence againſt an evil act is not executed ſpeedily ; therefore the heart of the Sons of men is fully ſet in them to do evil.*

If any *Presbyter* ſet light by his Biſhop, and ſet up Separate Meetings, He ſhall be depos'd; and the People Communicating, ſhall be excommunicated. *Apoſtol. Can.* 31. *Conc. Antioch. Can.* 5. The ſame is affirm'd by the Synod of *Illibeus*, and *Counc.* of *Gangra*.

# A LETTER To a MINISTER in LONDON, From a MINISTER in the COUNTREY.

*Good Brother!*

I Want such a Friend as your Self, in these Times; into whose Bosom I might empty and impart my Pensive Thoughts; and so give ease to my Troubled Mind: And also enjoy the Balsom of your Counsel, for the healing of my wounded Spirit. My Ears are not only grated upon, and fill'd with the Din of a Discontented World: but my

very Heart throbs, and Palpitates in my Breaſt, when I conſider the Diviſions of our *Reuben*. It is not long ſince we ſang the Songs of *Zion*: our Mouths were fill'd with Laughter, and our Hearts with Joy: when after a long, and wearisom Night; the Sun brake forth in our Hemiſphere, and cheer'd our Drooping Spirits: Our Rightful Prince, came leaping over all the Mountains, that were in his way. And under the ſhadow of this Cedar, we have ſate ſafe and quiet ever ſince. That which ſweeten'd the Mercy, was this; It was beſtow'd by way of Anſwer to our Prayers: After many fruſtraneous Contrivances, Combinations, and Attempts of our own. We gave Heaven no Reſt, either day, or night; until He, by whom Kings Reign; gave us our Rulers as at the firſt, and our Governors as in Ancient days. But as if (with *Aaron* and *Hur*) we had let down our hands; and intermitted thoſe Devotions which muſt Contribute to the continuing, and preſerving of Mercies, as well as Influence the procuring of them; we are again ſurrounded with Affrightments. The Clouds gather, and the ſhadows are ſtretching themſelves over us; as if there were a Storm; and another Eclipſe of the Sun approaching. The Archers are fitting their Arrows in their Quivers; Nay! upon their Strings; as if they had ſome Game in view; ſome ſignal Mark

to

to aim at: Neither great, nor ſmall; but the King of *Iſrael*. All this while we ſtand amaz'd, and cannot tell out of what Coaſt this Storm may ariſe; or from whence this ſhowre of Artillery may aſſault us: Like men devoted to fall a Sacrifice; yet we know not whoſe hands may be imbrued in our Blood. All Parties are lowing after their Calves; and are ready to Gore thoſe that meddle with them, or ſtand in their way. Of old, we read but of two in all *Iſrael*: But now Calves have gender'd, and brought forth a numerous Generation. There's ſcarce a great Town, where there are not whole Droves and Herds of them. They leap, and Sport, and take their Paſtime (like *Leviathan* in the Waters) without Controul. None ſo fierce that dare ſtir them up; who is able to ſtand before them? They eſteem Iron as Straw, and Braſs as rotten Wood: Darts are counted as ſtubble; they laugh at the ſhaking of a Spear. At their firſt appearing in the World, their Pens were at a conſiderable diſtance one from the other: *Dan*, and *Bethel*; but now they couch ſo near together, that they are almoſt Contiguous. And as Herrings when they meet in Sholes; they do not only threaten, but indanger the talleſt Ships; ſo the Adorers of theſe Calves, combining together; and ſwelling into a Prodigious Bulk; do even threaten the downfal of Church and State;

though rooted in Adamant: *Joab* himself would be confounded; if he were to Number these People. You see how Sparks neglected may grow into a Flame, and a Flame not extinguish'd in time, may become a Conflagration. Then it will be too late to say,—We thought Calves had been so far from having Horns—that they had been harmless and innocent Creatures, so that Children may even play upon the holes of these Asps. The *Lacedæmonians* in their Common-wealth, and the *Chineses* to this day, will not permit Strangers to continue in their Cities above three Days; lest their People should learn any Manners, or Customs which might Adulterate, or Subvert those of their own growth. It is Death among the *Turks* to do any thing openly; whereby the Religion Professed among them, may seem to be slighted or contradicted. And *Porcius Cato* told the *Romans* in a set Speech—How careful their Ancestors had been; that no external Rites of Worship; or Sacrifices of other Countries should creep in; and incroach upon their City. This made it, and them so formidable unto their Enemies. It may be hereafter scann'd by Sober Politicians—whether *Mercury*, or *Prudence* was the Ascendant in this Nation, when Thistles, and Nettles were suffer'd to multiply, and grow to that height—that they threaten all the Flowers in the Garden:

den: either to choak or over top them. The poor Husbandman weeds out the Tares and Darnel out of his Field, lest they should rob his Corn of that Sap which should feed it; or twist about it with Mortal imbraces; until they humble, and level it with the Earth: Who would nourish a Viper in his Bosom, until he come to that strength and vigour, that 'tis able to sting him to the very heart? Governors, even of private Societies, and Houses, are commonly jealous of any Incroachments; that may undermine their Power, or confront their Authority. Now he is an errant Stranger in our *Israel*, that sees not how several Parties swell & increase every day; and all Combine against the Powers that are. Where one Man speaks the Language of *Canaan*: what savours of Loyalty and Obedience to his Prince: what tends to the Peace and welfare of the Church. There's twenty speak the Dialect of *Ashdod*; what smells of Nitre and Sulphur, Discontent, and Confusion. And what they do not express in Articulate Sounds; they make out in Nods, and Whispers. A naughty Man winketh with his Eyes, and speaketh with his Feet.

Some think the Blow we fear, will come from *Rome*. And indeed that City was founded in Blood: Her very Walls were cemented with the same. And since it became Christian; how have the Streets thereof been

fill'd with Blood, from one end to the other, in the ſeveral Perſecutions? *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, in the days of *Titus*, can ſcarce Parallel thoſe Tragœdies. Nay! Since the *Roman* Eagle, has given place to the Croſs: And the Biſhop has ſupplanted the Emperor: How eaſie would it be in each Countrey, where the Pope's Horſe has ſet his foot, to find out whole ſtreams of Blood? This Beaſt has ſtill the ſame Inſtruments of Cruelty; though ſhe hide them (as the Viper her Teeth) yet when any Game is ſtarted, that is fit for her prey, then her fangs do appear. Blood is as natural to this Woman, as 'tis to a young Lion, or a young Eagle; She loves to dabble in gore; until, as St. *John* ſays,—*ſhe be drunk with the blood of Saints and Martyrs.* Yet who can conceive that any ſhould be ſo fond of Slavery, as to return into this *Babylon*? ſo Ambitious to hold the Pope's Stirrup; and lay his Neck under his inſulting feet; that he ſhould be acceſſary to promote his own Bondage? to bring his Perſon,---Conſcience,---and Eſtate under the Harrows of this Uſurping Tyrant? to make the Land of his Nativity, Tributary to a foreign Power; by becoming (as *Egypt* once was) the Granary of *Rome*?

Others fear a Storm from *France*. The Clouds gather that way: But maugre all the Pride and Power of that growing Monarchy, we may be ſafe under the Protection of the Almighty,

Almighty, and the Conduct of our National Prince; if we were as a City that is at Unity in it self: more Zealous in the Service of that God, who dwells on high, and laugh's those to scorn—that think to trample on their Neighbours, by virtue of their own brawny flesh; without any Commission from himself; and to lead into Captivity those that desire to be quiet in their own Land. If ever we fall by a foreign Enemy; we shall be accessary to our own Ruin: either betraying our selves by our own Sins; and so forfeiting God's blessed Providence, which has been so long a wall about us: or by some Perfidious *Sinons* among our selves--that shall open our Gates to our open Adversaries. If we could Reduce and Unite our roving and distracted Affections into one Point: gather our selves into a Rundle, as the *Spanish* Fleet did their greatest Danger, in the days of Q. *Elizabeth.* If like Sheep (when affrighted with Dogs) we could rally into one Body; we might be impregnable in our own Island; If the Stars in their course, or God himself did not fight against us. But alas! we are so shatter'd, and look such several ways: As if we were contriving how to sink, with the least trouble to our Assailants; and give them an easie and cheap Victory; we have almost as many Parties, as Men: And each Party stands on Tiptoes, waiting for the Destruction of the rest. Alas

poor *England!* What evil Spirit is come abroad, and crumbled thee into ſo many ſhivers? What Stars did then prevail, when thou becameſt the By-word of other Nations, who waſt the Glory of all Lands? The Battails of *Creſſy* and *Agencourt*, are not yet forgotten in Story. And ſhall our Sins ſo bow down our Backs, that we muſt fear thoſe whom we have Conquered? Shall we now ſo unravel our Cord by our Inteſtine Diviſions, that they may be eaſily broken apart; which were inviolable whil'ſt twiſted together? This is to bring ſwift Deſtruction upon our ſelves, without yielding any glory to thoſe that ſhall ſpoil us. Where was the Kites renown, that ſoop'd away the Frog and the Mouſe, whil'ſt they were contending and aiming at each others Ruine? whilſt their eyes were ſo blood-ſhotten with Spite, that they never attended the Motions of their Common Enemy. Thoſe fowl that are tame, do even dread the Shadows of Birds of prey, by the inſtinct of Nature, though they hover in the Air at a great diſtance from them. And ſhall not we have ſo much Prudence, as to reunite our ſelves, now our Enemies are not only hovering, but ready to fall directly upon our heads? *Hannibal* is even at our very Gates, *Titus* is caſting up his Trenches; and we (like thoſe Zealots in *Jeruſalem*) are pulling each other by the Throat. Was there

ever

ever Madness like this Madness? O for the Harp of *David!* to allay this rage, and to charm down these Furies. O that some Rays from the face of God, might shine upon us! That these Clouds might be dispell'd; and our Fears prevented! If that Grace which brings Salvation, did once arise in our hearts; by reducing us to the same Point, where we first parted; That is, the door of the Sanctuary: by teaching us to worship the same God, in his own way; there might yet be hopes in our *Israel* concerning this: we might all speak the Language of *Canaan* again, and become a terror to our Enemies. The Lord is terrible in the behalf of his People, by sending Hornets among their Adversaries, when they are gather'd together in the holy Place of his *Zion*. *T. Quintius* said, the Snail was safe in her shell; so might we be in the Sanctuary.

You see 'tis hard to live in a Countrey-Cell; and not gather some Melancholly Air. Yet 'tis for a Consolation, that I have both liberty and leisure, to breath out the same to my God in Devotions, and to give a vent to it; by transmitting the Eccho thereof to your self. I wish these Lines may find you free, from all Incumbrances of Sadness: that no such ghastly Objects may perplex or disturb your Recesses. And lest I should be guilty of pouring Water into your Wine; I will

will ſhake off my Hermits Pall; and dazle you with a more taking Dreſs. My Gratulation ſhall requite you, for my former Complaints; and I will both encourage you, and my ſelf with what follows.

The Truth is, not only common Fame, but my own ſecret Thoughts have ſuggeſted to me an equal fear from your *London*, to that from *Rome* and *France*: For I am old enough to remember, what Commotions aroſe from that place about Forty years ago. The King of bleſſed Memory, was affronted in the Streets: All loyal Members of Parliament, and Conſcionable Subjects, were aw'd with the dreggs of the People. Judgment was turn'd backward; thoſe gave the Law, that did violate it moſt, and deſerv'd to be made Examples by it. Seditious Pamphlets and Inſolent Petitions, flew abroad like Granado's; and he that durſt give a check to this Torrent, was ſure to be over-whelmed; and to periſh in this Gain-ſaying of Core, Wo be to Righteous *Lot*, if found in the midſt of theſe *Sodomites*. Wo be to St. *Paul* himſelf, if he ſtood in the way of *Demetrius*, and his Crew. No man fit to deſcribe theſe Confuſions, but he that wears Buskins: has a Vein of writing Tragedies; and can ſet forth the Plague of *Athens* in its own direful Colours. I once thought, I ſhould have dy'd

dy'd St. *Steven*'s Death, only for Preaching on the Fifth Commandment. When I look back and consider what Tails these Comets drew after them; I am like one that goes upon a narrow Bridge over a deep River. My head and my heart tremble and pant; and I can scarce believe my own Happiness, that I have escaped the roaring of these Waters, for so the Sacred Writ calls a tumultuous Multitude: Methinks I am only in a Dream, and I sometimes seem to see the Mountains smoaking; and Firebrands coming out of Pulpits, to increase the Flame. Young Men, that were sent by their Friends to be disciplin'd and train'd up in honest Callings, were debauch'd in their Duties to their Superiours, and inchanted with *Sheba*'s Trumpet: As if it were not enough to Poison one Generation.

Sir! It is not long since we were affrighted in the Countrey; as if the like times were Revolving upon us. As if your *London* were catching again the same Wildfire; and like *Ætna*, were breaking forth into another Conflagration. Every man we met, talk'd of little else, but the rising of the City: Such especially, as are given unto Change; and have the Leprosie of Sedition, and Schism running upon them; that think to get that in a Scramble, which they can never attain by their own Merits. These shak'd their Heads;

Heads; made ghaſtly Faces---as if another Dooms-day of Inſurrections were coming upon us; and the fatal Period of our Tranquillity was approaching. This Alarm did ſo far amaze me; that I dreaded the Fire, that had ſcorch'd me. I wrote Letter after Letter to my Son, an Apprentice there---to Charge and Command him, by virtue of my Paternal Authority---not to enter into their Secrets: or Conſpire with thoſe *Cataſines* that deſire to diſturb our Peace, or oppoſe our Government. It is better we ſhould all ſuffer; than Carve out our Fortunes, and divert ſuppos'd Calamities, by lifting up an hand againſt the Lord's Anointed. God commonly turns the Projects of *Achitophels* into Folly: for though precipitate actions are pleaſing in their beginning; yet they are difficult in carrying on, and diſapprove the Succeſs.

But bleſſed be God! *London* is not *London* now. The Magiſtrates and Citizens are Men of another Spirit; and better acquainted with their Duty to God, and Men. They are too wiſe to be cheated over again, with Jeſuitical, I had almoſt ſaid---Deviliſh pretences, whereby they were formerly deluded. Their Repentance coſt them too dear, ſo ſoon to traverſe the ſame ways, wherein they have been betray'd to Robbers and Thieves. I am almoſt afraid to hear Subjects cry up Religion,

and

and Property; lest they should again strip us of both: To cry down others Miscarriages with *Absolom*; or with *Cham* discover their Nakedness; lest they should Usurp the *Fasces* into their own hands, and whip us again with Scorpions. It is almost enough, to make men Jewish Infidels, to compare some Mens former Actions, with their own Declarations: Their hairy Hands, with their *Jacob's* Voice, whatever we feel: whatever we fear, is the dismal Effect of that Hypocrisie. The Jews thought there were some grains of the Golden Calf, in all their Sufferings; and whatever Ghost haunts and affrights us now, was rais'd by our own Malignant actings in the days past. Of whom shall we Complain? If our Dangers are great, our Sins have been so too: let us no more prevaricate: let us be *Israelites* indeed; and then those unhappy vapours, which threaten to Eclipse our Prosperity, will soon vanish. No need of being Jealous of our Governors: or for them to be distrustful of us: For then they may sleep safely in the Laps of their People; and we Rejoyce under their shadows.

Good Sir! Pardon the *Indecorum* of this Letter: For I write to an Eminent Shepherd; just as I treat my Countrey Flock: yet I cannot forbear to transgress, whil'st I deprecate my Fault.

I ſometimes Ruminate with my ſelf—How our Tribe is aſſaulted from ſeveral Coaſts. It ſhakes and totters with Impetuous Volleys from all parts of the Circumference: *Manaſſeh* againſt *Ephraim*; and *Ephraim* againſt *Manaſſeh*; and both againſt *Levi*. Theſe Rocks are even ready to grind us to Powder. And as the Earth hangs upon nothing, but the Word of God's Power: ſo we only ſubſiſt, and are preſerv'd, by the powerful Providence of the ſame God; and by the gracious Favour of his Vicegerent. Let us be Faithful and Diligent in our Places; and thoſe billows ſhall be ſo reſtrain'd, that they may roar; but ſhall not ſwallow us up. Whil'ſt theſe Contemplations take up my Thoughts; there are other Sentiments ruſh in upon me. Alas! How cold and perfunctory are many of us in our Miniſterial Imploys? As if we were not only Regardleſs of the Souls committed to our Charges; but of our own. As if Eaſe, Gain, and Grandeur, were the great deſigns of our Functions. Nay! Has not the Altar it ſelf been formerly polluted? Has not Religion been proſtituted to the Luſts of Men? Has not the *Diana* of Diſobedience been cry'd up, by Preaching and Prayer? Is not the ſame Fervent Swelling ſtill among us? The ſame *Jonah* in our Ship? The ſame *Achan* in our Camp? Shall not the Lord viſit for theſe things? If any Complains that ſuch Men are

ſilenc'd;

ſilenc'd; who for their Parts may be uſeful to the Church; I anſwer with *M. Curius* in a like caſe—The Church has no need of ſuch as have not learn'd to obey.

But I am carried (I know not by what Genius) out of a Fragrant Garden, into a ſtinking *Golgotha*. I was commending the preſent Conſtitution of your City, beyond what it has been in our Memory; to the intent, that God might have the Glory; and the Sword of *Gideon* too, might have that praiſe which is due unto it: I mean your ſelf; and other Regular Miniſters of the Goſpel there, who have far tranſcended many of thoſe that went before you; by infuſing better Principles: Planting and Preaching more ſound and peaceable Doctrines among the Inhabitants of that place: ſo that the Glory of this ſecond Temple, has quite outſtrip'd the Rubbiſh that went before it: yet whil'ſt I was thus muſing: ſolacing my ſelf; and ſweetning this Solitude, with the Platonick Pleaſure, and ſenſuality of theſe Idea's; In came a ſwarm of Thoughts; what a confuſed heap that famous City has been; under the Conduct of falſe Lights, and unlucky Pilots: And whil'ſt I was thus poſſeſs'd and tranſported; I have convers'd with Tombes, and Charnel Houſes. But waving theſe unpleaſant Reflections; I ſhall fix my Eyes upon your *London*, as it is Inform'd, and Reform'd

by

by happy Teachers: Not only Glorious and Stupendious in Structures, and Merchandize; but alſo, for her Religion to God; and Fidelity to the Prince. In a body of ſuch Dimenſions; there's no wonder--that there are ſome excentrical Motions: Some Excremental Excreſcencies, Wens and Botches. Our little Pariſhes are not free from Heteroclites: irregular, and diſorderly walkers. There are ſome Dregs, and Reliques of the late Times. We can eaſily divine, who went before; by the Impreſſion of thoſe crooked, and diſtorted Foot-ſteps they have left behind. Though we conſtantly Pray, Preach, Catechize, and Inſtruct our People publickly, and privately: yet the hand of *Joab* ſtill appears; and thoſe Tares which *Inimicus homo* ſow'd in the Furrows of our Fields, are not yet rooted up. There are: there muſt be Hereſies in the World, until we come to the Unity of the Faith; and all our Chaff ſhall be winnow'd out at the Day of Judgment. The Harveſt will come, when vile Weeds ſhall be ſeparated from the precious Corn. In the mean while, we that live in the Valleys, are ſo far from envying your Happineſs, that we make it our own, by exulting and triumphing in the ſame; and praiſing God, for your numerous and generous Progeny. Though ours be as thin as Grapes after the Vintage: As lean and meagre as *Pharoah's* Kine.

Kine. Many of your People are as the Sons of *Anak*, of a tranſcendent growth and ſtature, both for Parts and Piety: your Aſſemblies, as ſo many Synods—How beautiful are thy Gates! thy Tents, O *London!* when a Man enters into your orderly Congregations; He ſtands as it were, in the Porch, and Suburbs of Heaven: ſo that he muſt ſay—God is among you of a Truth: Your Faces look towards *Zion*, and ſhine with the luſtre thereof, like *Moſes*'s in the Mount. Your Reverence and Devotion declare—That Heaven is your aim; and that you are in good earneſt, in ſeeking the Countrey that is above. It is true:—*Gebal*, *Ammon*, and *Amaleck* do what they can to weaken your hands, and blaſt this your Succeſs. They grudge, and gnaſh with their Teeth—to ſee thoſe ſo proſperous in their Miniſtery; whom they traduce and undervalue; and in their Proſperity, ſet them with the Dogs of their Flock. Therefore they ſet up Altars of their own; and decoy your People into their Mountains. Mountains, did I ſay? Nay! into their *African* Corners, and Vaults. Yet thorow your Primitive diligence and dexterity; your bow does ſtill continue in ſtrength. And Maugre all their Contrivances and Blocks they lay in your way, to divert you in your Evangelical race; and hinder the erecting of *Jeruſalem*'s Walls: your work goes on thorow the Power of the

Almighty God of *Jacob* : And theirs moulters and dwindles; at leaſt, It does not thrive, being ſet together with untemper'd Mortar. Though they have this Advantage—They drive down the Hill, and woe the People, to what both Naturally, and by Inſtigation, they are too much inclin'd; and that is,--Diſobedience to Authority, and all that is called God. This ſuits too well, to that Gun-Powder : that deprav'd Activity; and Elaſtick Virtue, which they bring into the world with them. May you, and all our Brethren go on with undaunted Courage! notwithſtanding their barking; to keep your Flocks from ravenous Wolves; and to ſave the Souls of your People, from Schiſm, Faction, and Sedition here! from Satan, and Hell hereafter! We cannot deny, but there was much Zeal (ſuch as it was) in that place formerly: But this was as Fire in our Thatch; or like the career of a blind Horſe, that has much Spirit; but no eyes to guide him. Now, there is not only Zeal; but according to knowledge: Not only a partial Religion, in obſerving the firſt Table; but alſo, conſcionable Obedience to the ſecond; that Faith towards God may appear to be true and Genuine; by works towards Men; Love to God, whom we have not ſeen; by Love to our Brethren, whom we have ſeen.

In the midst of our late Fears—This very Consideration kept me from drooping, and sinking. What? Shall men that have a Religious, well-grounded fear of God, bandy together against their lawful Governors? Men that are so taught? such Proficients in Christ's School? shall these brandish that Sword, to which they have no Right? This would even have justified the worst of Times; when those in your places pleaded Scripture and Conscience for Resistance. Others made Harangues to the Representatives of the City in their Common Council, to inflame them to an ungodly War against their Prince: nor were there wanting such Orators among them, that muster'd up all the sinews of their Eloquence, and Rhetorick, to sway and bow the great Council of the Land the same way. You have better learn'd Christ, and you have better taught your People. It is the Physitian's glory to check and chastise any predominant and luxuriant humour in the Body; and to reduce it into an even and Moderate temper with the rest. So it shews the Ministers Skill to allay the vehement Efforts of an irregular People--in perswading them to this Sobriety--to leave the Government of the World to the Providence of God; and the disposal of Church and State to the Wisdom of the King. We may be too Pragmatical, and deprive our selves of present Injoyments; by

being too solicitous for the time to come; I will Pray for the welfare of this, and succeeding Ages. May true Piety, Peace, and Plenty be ever within the Walls of this Church, and State! And may God raise up such Men to sit at the Stern of both; that may be nursing Fathers indeed! yet I will leave my Prayers at the feet of God; and trust him with the success of them. It has been the great Mercy of God, in putting it into the heart of the Prince; and the signal Prudence of the Right Reverend Bishops successively; to place in, and encourage, Able and Regular Ministers, in the chief City of the Land: both to root up those dangerous and unpeaceable Doctrines, which have been formerly settled there: and cast a Malignant Influence upon the head of all our Tribes. And also to plant such sound Catholick, and Orthodox Truths; whereby men may be guided into the ways of Peace, and Holiness. The fruit and benefit of such Preaching, and Preachers, has appear'd in hushing those Discontents that were amongst you: In restraining and preventing the madness of the People, and their Tumultuous Practices. Faithful Ministers are not only Necessary to Conduct men to Heaven; but also to establish Peace here below—and to support the King's Throne. The Sun it self may as well be spared out of the Firmament, as these Luminaries

minaries out of the Church. Had it not been for Faithful Preachers in the City and Countrey—to ſtand in thoſe Gaps, that are trodden down by the Furioſo's of our times; we had been over-run e're this, with Herds of feral, and unruly Beaſts.

Many there are that complain, and find faults. They declaim againſt Abuſes, and Exorbitancies, eſpecially in the Church; not that they may be redreſs'd (except they themſelves may be the Reformers) but that they may Diſgrace and Wound the Civil State, thorow the ſides of the Eccleſiaſtick: For if we would ſtudy how to be reveng'd of thoſe that Diſſent from us: To Crucifie them, and Countermine their Projects; we cannot take a more Compendious way—than to agree together, in a vigorous purſuit of the fear of God, and the Honour of the King; to teach our People true Piety, and Allegiance; our Sores are their Repaſt, and our Peace is their Torment. May we always thus goad their Sides! and rend their Caules! by being good Men, and Orthodox Preachers: By maintaining God's Honour, the King's Repoſe, the Tranquillity of the Church and Kingdom; promoting our own Salvation, and our Peoples eternal Happineſs.

It may be ſome Grief to you, that ſome of your Flocks are cluck'd away, and purloin'd from their own Shepherds. Chriſt

himſelf was troubled at the loſs of one Apoſtle: He alſo put an Accent of Sorrow upon theſe words to his Diſciples—*Will ye alſo go away?* St. *Paul* complained, when *Demas* and the People of *Aſia* forſook him. Yet be of good cheer—you are ſtill throng'd with grave, and knowing Auditory. The ways of *Zion* do not mourn; and the Abomination of Deſolation does not ſtand, where it ought not. Though ſome looſe, light, ſmutty Ears may fall, or rather be ſnatch'd from you; yet your ſheaves are ſtill full of weighty and ſolid Corn. Your People do not talk, ſmatter, diſpute, and wrangle about the great things of Religion: but they live, act, and practice the ſame. Their Senſes are both exercis'd to diſcern, and their capacious, and healthy Souls, to receive and digeſt the ſtronger Meats of the Goſpel.

Alas! We are not ſo happy in the Countrey; we liſp, and ſpeak half words; we Inſtill our Milk by Drops; here a little, and there a little: And we account it our beſt Learning, to condeſcend to the Ignorant; in Calculating our Words and Matter to the Meridian of their Underſtanding. We had rather ſome ſhould carp, and cenſure; than the greater part ſhould go away, without any Edification. 'Tis better to Sacrifice our own Credit, than their Souls. To uſe an *Arcadian* Dialect; than they ſhould ſtare, gaze,

gaze, and ſay we are Mad; or with him in the Poet, be ſtarv'd in the midſt of our Dainties; and ſcorch'd with thirſt, whil'ſt they are catching at the gilded Streams of our flouring Rhetorick. Yet we rejoyce, if by the Pulſe of our People we can diſcern any Motions, or Symptoms of a Spiritual life; and that Religion is true, and ſincere; though weak, and unpoliſh'd.

Sir! I know that your heart ſounds and ecchos herein to mine. Well! let us go on with a chearful Diligence in our ſeveral ſtations: you in the Mount; we in the Valleys: you, with the Mother-City; we, with the Daughters of *Jeruſalem*---until Righteouſneſs, and true Holineſs; be not only the Ornament, but Bulwark of our Land. For as the moſt rugged paſſages of God's Providence, are beautiful in their ſeaſon: And the moſt contemptible Members of the Body, are Uſeful and Neceſſary in their places; ſo the loweſt and meaneſt Officers in the Church (if found faithful) may add to her luſtre, and adorn the Compages of Chriſt's myſtical Body: As little Choireſters may help to make up the Conſort, and Harmony of the Quire. I know you will not overlook our help in carrying on the common Salvation; though our ſhoulders are weaker than yours.

I have got the happineſs to ſpeak to a wiſe Man, who is able to judge what I ſay; and I

am unwilling to part with it. This must be my Apology, for protracting this, beyond the bounds and measures of my ordinary Letters. If you be more concise in your Answer, make it out in your Prayers. And herein I will requite you—by Importuning the Throne of Grace—That both you, and all our Brethren, may do worthily in that *Ephrata*, and famously in your *Bethlem!* That the Ministers of *London*, may be the glory of *England!* as our *English* Clergy is the wonder of the Christian world. And though the Fawns of the Wood, must be content to come behind the City-Muses. Though we cannot reach the *Selah* of your loud Cymbals; yet we will follow you, with our little Timbrels and Pipes. We will do what we can—In reconciling God, and his People; in preserving a right Understanding betwixt the King, and his Subjects; promoting Primitive Piety, with Catholick Love, and Charity amongst our People.—

*FINIS.*

# EPISTOLA VERIDICA

AD

HOMINES ΦΙΛΟΠΡΩΤΕΎΟΝΤΑΣ.

Cui Additur

# ORATIO

Pro ſtatu

# ECCLESIÆ

Fluctuantis, quæ ex quavis Regione vacillat & periclitatur dum clavum teneant qui arte Sacro-nauticâ minimè polleant.

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*Londini* Excuſum, Anno Dom. 1659.

## ΛΟ'ΓΟΣ ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΤΙΚ'ΟΣ

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ad | Magiſtros ſatis Magiſteriales & Dominos nimis Dominantes | Nye Peters Tombes Cæteroſque σπεκυλάτωρας *Mar.* 6. 21. | Qui legitimos Evangelii miniſtros tot veluti juniores Ottomannos (quantũ in ipſis) ſtrangulãt & crucifigunt. |

JAm tandem mihi gratulor (viri magnates) quod excuſſo ſtuporis veterno, lacertos rurſus movere geſtiam; & vos ultrò alloqui auſim intrepidus, qui me ὡς κάθαρμα, ſævas nuper *pronuntiaſtis ad beſtias*; *vos*, inquam, qui telorum grandine, parum abfuit, quin obruiſſetis; & Gigantes cùm ſitis (quantum in vobis) in *Cætum Gigantum*, hoc eſt ad inferos uſque, veſtro Anathematis fulmine, diram (proh dolor!) miſeritis victimam; ſed nullos tam puros manes admittit infernus: tam charum lucis filiolum, reſpuunt tenebrarum regna: ſic nitentem veſtibus, ſi aſpexiſſent Cacodæmones; perſtringantur oculi, & ſubterranea perhorreſcant examina; nec non ipſe Minos, æquiori perpendens trutinâ, acumen veſtrum, ſimul & juſtitiam, frendens incuſet, & iratus; quaſi, ab auro ſcoriam, à

tritico

tritico paleam, à medullâ corticem, à spuriis verè genuinas aquilas haud dijudicare poteritis. Apagè igitur cum sententiâ vestrâ! feram cantate palinodiam; & quod temerario exarâstis calamo, ex vestris subitò deleatur Annalibus: ut Herodes olim suos expunxit natales; hic, ne parentum ignominiam; vos, ne vestram suboleant, nasuti nepotes. Quantùm ad me attinet, tota cervice divinioribus studiis pergam incumbere, & (exanimatus licèt) sacris paginis adhuc palleſcere; ut ex rupe istâ (Scripturæ scilicet) fontes salvificos: ex thesauro isto, gemmas: ex alveari, favos; & ex promptuario isto, cibaria, & succos salutares possim eruere; animæ meæ, gregique populari confestim traditurus; ut nec Deo, nec bonis (quanquam vobis) audiam ἀδόκιμος.

Postquam vos, quasi tot immaniores Levitæ, Galliones, & Homunciones ἀστοργοὶ me vestris consossum vulneribus, gemibundum, & tantum non expirantem, vix intuebamini: ecce melior Samaritanus (conscientia scilicet subridens, intemerata, & γαληνιῶσα) parato occurrit gremio: utrisque ulnis ruit in amplexus, dulcique susurro in aurem blanditur: me molli fovet cataplasmate: pedibus vestris conculcatum sublevat; oleumque suum, in ipsa cordis penetralia effundit.

Utinam de Cathedrâ vestrâ & sellâ Curuli, paululum descendatis in arenam: non lu-

ctam

ctam ſubituri, ſed velitationem, eamque amicabilem, & ſine odio. Siccine indignus ego? nulla eruditionis rimula? nulla pietatis ſcintillula? dicite mihi ſodes! triobolaris ego, & nullius pretii Theologaſter? de ponte mittendus, ſicut ἐργάτης ὄλως ἐπαίσχυντος? Heu! perii infelix: contremiſcunt viſcera: labaſcunt crura: ſuffuſus rubore vultus; nec non ſinguli artus ſolvuntur in παρέλυσιν: ſub tam infauſto natus ſidere, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ἐπῳδόμματι, tot preciunculas quotidè ejaculatus fuerim: tot lachrymis genas humectârim? toties jejunaverim? tot labores exantlârim? tot librorum volumina (abſit invidia! abſit jactantia!) evolverim, ut muneri huic Evangelico, & animarum aucupiis invigilarem? & incaſsùm ceſſerunt ſingula? Sed veſtras revolvite memorias: judicia explorate propria, utrùm nullis præjudicii nebulis offuſa: nam ipſi aliquando oculi ſic humoribus intumeſcunt, ſic glaucomate laborant, ut circa ipſos colores omnimodò hallucinentur: *ſic Senatus quondam Romanus, vero aut pretium, aut gratiam anteferebat.* Interrogate fideliter animas veſtras: non audio quid interrogata corda reſpondeant: ſed niſi callo prorſus obducti, niſi κεκαυτηριασμένοι, quin αὐτοκατάκριτοι ſitis, nullus dubito, quòd Lesbia etiam evaſeritis regula, qui lapides Lydios, & pænè infallibiles eſſe gloriamini, compertum habeo. Ah! quoties nigro carbone notabitis immeritos, cùm meliorem calculum

calculum apposuisse debeatis? vobis igitur in posterùm consulo, ut Cryptam aliquam Caliginosam intretis judicaturi; aut judicum instar Atheniensium, altâ nocte censuras vestras proferatis, si infamem exuatis προσωποληψίαν. Et cùm suggesta vestra ascendisse videar, vobisque in subsellio sedentibus perorâsse, bonâ adhuc cum veniâ, perrexisse liceat. Non mihi cordi est, ut quæstionum involucris vos irretirem, aut spinosis argumentorum aculeis excruciem: non ut περπικέραυνος essem, gladios loquuturus, aut fulgura. Absit, absit, inquam, vindictæ tam impotens Cupido! οὐκ οὕτως τὸν Χριστὸν ἔμαθον. Exultate adhuc, per me, singuli; meæ quanquam ruinæ, quo jure, quâve injuriâ, fabri simul, & artifices. Non commodi œstro percitus, non famæ distendor aucupio; sed aliorum, sed ecclesiæ gratiâ dicturus; & quare dixisse pœniteat, cùm vos tam horrenda fecisse non pigeat? Quid vetat anseres ipsos, clamorem in cœlum tollere, cùm templi arces, ipsumque Capitolium sitis prodituri? (*a*) prodituri inquam; quid enim à proditione distat, tot satellites, tot veteranos inhibuisse, quos in castra sua miserat Dominus Exercituum? intraque ecclesiæ muros, contra hostium insultus, & molimina, excubare jusserat; sicut Domini vineam

(*a*) Διωγμῶν ὁ βαρύτατος· διώκονται οἱ ποιμένες, ἵνα διασκορπισθῶσι τὰ ποίμνια· τίς θρῆνος τῶν συμφορῶν τούτων ἀξιός; ποίαι πηγαὶ δακρύων κακοῖς τοσούτοις ἐπαρκέσουσιν; Basil. *p.* 318.

vineam vastâsse videamini, qui tot fidos præclusistis operarios, quos Dei misericordia, piorumque preces in medium emiserant; quodque dolendum magis, à vobis etiam dilaceratur Christi Sponsa; à vobis inquam, totum vulnus fit & Cicatrix, quibus eam propulsare, & custodire incubuit; adeò ut non possum (ad ravim usque) non ingemiscere——Quis custodiet ipsos——Custodes? sed nondum animam meam omnimodò liberavi: nam ut Deus Angelo Pergamensi, sic ego ulteriùs καθ' ὑμῶν ἔχω ὀλίγα.

Quis non videt capita vestra cœlo ipsi minantia? & altas veluti Cupressus, singulos præ vobis, tanquam viburna, & vilia arbusta fastidientes? Cristas hasce, & caudas verè pavonias, tandem deponite: supercilia remittite, & posthac *in majorem erudiamini mansuetudinem.* Quorsum caperatis frontem, & superbienti supercilio sic supplices torquetis miseros? Non mancipia sumus, sed fratres? nisi Donatistarum instar, fratres etiam vocari dedignamini, aut cum Eunomianis fraternè non estis affecti; adeò ἡμεῖς οἱ διὰ σμικρότητα (ut Basilius olim) παροφθέντες videmur in oculis eorum esse ut cicadæ. En! vos adimus, æquali, ac aras ipsas sacrificuli, reverentià: nudato capite: curvato corpore: vultu submisso, & flexis genibus vestra lambimus & osculamur vestigia: at quasi statuæ sitis ambulatoriæ,

Primò.

*Numero cap.* 13. 33.

bulatoriæ, sine ullis fibrarum flexuris, vix (ne vix quidem) nutum possumus extorquere: nutum dixi? ô nos felices! si non torvos vibretis aspectus, & verba acuminata, ipsâ morte acerbiora. O quantâ clientes vestros (Carnificinâ quâdam) occiditis morâ; quàm pedibus nostris, heu! trita vestibula! dum luna ipsa sæpius suos peragit cursus; quasi vobis *dulces ipsi morientium gemitus:* nihil vestrâ refert, populos nobis charos, uxores, pignora, longa pati divortia, & noster—— fundo susspiret nummus in imo: sed cavete quæso, ne sicut Papæ ambitio peperit Antichristum, sic iisdem eum armis expellere venditaretis, quibus introductus, quibus sua debet incunabula. Si olim erga ministellos, sic sese gessissent Antistites, quanto boatu tota remugiret regio! imò ipsa resonaret Europa! *Alia quærenda terra: alii lares: nam intolerabilis* (vestras querelas repeto) *Episcopalis majestas: ipsa constupratur aura, spiritu isto plusquam* (b) *Luciferiano. Quid tandem restat? nisi ut cervicibus publicis depulsi jaceant, & cædantur victimæ, non tam aliorum ambitioni, quam suæ? nisi ut magna illa, & erudita nomina, tot essent trophæa; tot fortunæ ludibria, currus vestros ornatura triumphales.* Sed cavete rursum, ne digitos vestros experiamur, illorum lumbis graviores: cavete inquam,

(b) *Sunt quos in conspectu hominum superbia tanquam suos demonstrat hostes, & intrinsecus nequissimos habet milites.* Fulg. p. 691.

inquam, ne faſtum illorum conculcaretis, ſed *faſtu majori*; ut Romani olim, *regios Tarquinii faſtus*, aliâ *ſuperbiâ, non ferebant*—ſic *etiam ſapientibus, Cupido gloriæ, noviſſima exuitur.*

Hoc tamen dato; quòd vobis in clerum Domini, ſic dominari, cerviceſque noſtras premere, jure quodam contigiſſet; quis affines veſtros, famuloſque vobis miniſtrantes, dominos noſtros conſtituit? nam ſicut Ancillas ſuas habuit Penelope, quarum auxilio, & lenocinio adjuti, ſuam proci——adibant Corinthum; ſic vos famelica comitatur mancipiorum turba, quibus inhiantibus, ſi offam aliquam, ſeu victimam, non obtulerimus; qui ad Altitudines veſtras, nos introduceret, nemo placatus fuerit; erit forſan, qui prædæ avidus, ad devorandum fauces aperiat, calumnias comminiſcatur indignas, & precibus noſtris aures obſeret veſtras, quæ clavibus nullis recludendæ fuerint, niſi auratis: ſed priuſquam demulceantur, & cicurentur, iſtiuſmodi feræ, in quàm varias Humilitatis figuras, noſtra torquenda ſunt corpora? At at Ganymedem quendam habetis delicatulum, de proſapiâ ſuâ, & ſtemmate gloriantem; quaſi neutiquam patriſſare potuiſſet, niſi nos ruricolas, & in vervecum patriâ natos, deſpicatui haberet. Hic omnes ſupereminet, & erecto vertice, ipſa pænè pulſat ſydera. Nos—viles pulli; Hic—Gallinæ filius albæ: Hunc niſi ſummo demereamur obſequio, niſi titulis inſigniamus Honorificis; niſi genua

nostra, ad terram usque flectentia, suum illi tribuant vectigal, Jovisque nimbo prolapsi, in gremium ejus involemus, de nobis actum erit, & re prorsus infectâ, erit redeundum.

——*Quid domini facient, audent cum talia fures?*

Alteram vobis dicam non possum non impingere, quòd cùm animalcula sitis humi reptantia, vespertilionum instar, & noctuarum, ad naturæ lumen caligantia: coruscantes tamen divini solis radios, en! audacter intuimini; & quasi è secretioribus consiliis, ipsi Deo famulantes, arcana ejus perscrutari, & ἀναξδῶς διεάσασθαι, haud detrectatis; *Cujus judicia sunt incomprehensibilia, & investigabiles viæ ejus.* *Secundò.*

Frustrà in aere quærimus aquilæ volantis vestigia: frustrà in mari, ratis tractus, & semitas indagamur; imò, mare ipsum Aspicientes nos totum latet——Quænam——moveat ——tam crebros causa meatus. Thales sydera contemplaturus, incidit in foveam, cui anus inclamavit: *qua ratione ô Thales! quæ in Cœlis sunt comprehendes, qui ea quæ ante pedes videre nequeas?* Quorsum igitur, vos Dei gressus, & Circuitus, in ipso cordis sanctuario, ad amussim callere jactatis? Quorsum in ipsius spiritus scrinium, claves vestras demittitis? animarum pulsus, non minori fiduciâ

cià tractantes, quàm corporis temperiem, per ſymptomata, & Criſes, Hariolantur medicorum filii? Adeo vobis patent Cœlorum abyſſus. Quæ nobis intùs, epiſcamini facilè, & cordium tabulis inſculpta (quanquam ſpiritus ſulcantur ſtylo) æque vobis legibilia, ac in ipſo frontis meditullio, ſoliſque radiò fulgeſcant ſingula: Imò gratia non eſt gratia, niſi veſtra mutuaretur ſuffragia, & authoritatem. Quis converſionem, & παλιγγενεσίαν ſibi auſit vendicare? niſi ipſiſſimum Quando & Quomodo vobis innoteſcat? væ nobis, ſi cenſura veſtra eſſet futuri judicii præjudicium. Tot larvæ infernales: tot umbræ: tot ſumus Cadavera, ſi ſic ſtaret ſententia veſtra; ſi oculos magis propitios, non vobis dederit melior Deus. Si vivificus ille, & cœleſtis ſpiritus, clam vobis irrepſerit, vel pectoris angulo deliteſcens, nos ſecretiori obumbraret ſpiramine; eheu! Athei, & Ethnici (*Cur non aſini caput adorâſſe? cur infantulos etiam devorâſſe, non fortiter nos calumniamini?*) non ſine convitiorum plauſtris à vobis appellamur; ſed quis conſcientiarum judices, quis καρδιογνώστας voſmet conſtituit? cum diplomate veſtro accincti prodeatis: veſtros oſtentate faſces; ſic cenſuris veſtris non aſſurgemus inviti: ſic neq; ſuſpecta erit veſtra authoritas, nedum contempta: interim proprias explorate χάριτας, favete alienis: ſuam Deo (reticenda ſcilicet religionis myſteria) permittite provinciam. Num vobis ſolummodò erex-

isse scalas, & tot quasi Acesios, in cælum ascendisse contigit? Paulinum istud paulò attentiùs evolvite, *Quis hominum scit quæ sunt hominis nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est? & quæ Dei sunt, nemo cognovit, nisi spiritus Dei. Novus ille homo,* in cordis utero formatus, quasi Gygis annulo præmunitus, invisibilis ambulat: Hunc licet intùs foveamus, sicut & animam; licet motum ejus vitalem persentimus, aliis tamen ostentare,—& dicere hic est—Hic labor, hoc opus est. Quid ni de gratiâ dicendum? quod ille de tempore; *si nemo ex me quærat, scio; si quærenti explicare velim, nescio.*

Tertio. Miror sanè, & indignabundus stupeo, de vestro literarum contemptu; præsertim cum vosmet ipsi, scientiarum apices attigisse videamini: satis, heu satis vapulat, & ubique vilescit artium scientia, nisi malarum: vicatim clamitant nebulones; *Ad furcas docti! in cineres redigantur, & favillas, librorum volumina! nil nisi Hæresiũ sentina, ex Philosophiæ lernâ:* uberrimæ errorum segetes, ex Musarum fonte ebulliunt: sophistæ audiunt, & Circulatores, quotquot patrum monumentis invigilant, & scholasticorum lectioni horas impendunt, quanquam succisivas. Quò se ferat lacerata hæc, & procellis agitata cohors? ubi reclinabunt capita, ignorantium consputa opprobriis; quibus adhuc cordi sunt, morientes, & steriles literæ? en ad vos catervatim

vatim confugiunt doctrinæ alumni: vos Mæcenates esse, eorumq; columnas, abundè sibi promittentes: sed hinc etiam oboriuntur lacrymæ, etiam à vobis. Novercatis nimium, & dedecori inter vos cedunt literæ: nec emergunt facilè, qui dehonestantur artibus; sed si turpe est apud vos, bonas literas colere, præstat agnoscere culpam, quàm deprecari: nunc totam eruditionis κυκλοπαιδείαν intra vos occlusam velitis, sicut & religionem: nunc ipsi diabolo damnantur affines, qui eruditione insignes evaserint. Audite Anglicolæ! audite exteri! sed lugete utrique. Non *quidlibet audeo:* Hunc ipse appello, & verba sua agnoscat oportet, quisquis fuerit,

——*Inter Socraticos*——

*Murus estis*; sed qualis est apud prophetam, *cui accumbentibus paratus est serpens: sic pessimi hominis inimici, sunt ejus domestici.* O quali tripudio exultet Romana proles, cùm nudos nos, & inermes viderit; hisceque orbatos spiculis, quibuscum eorum turmas sæpiùs profligavimus; quibus tot edidimus strages; tot reportavimus victorias, & confertissimas eorum Aquilas fugantes, veritatem pænè triumphatam, quasi postliminii jure, liberavimus: Hoc igitur——Ithacus velit, & magni mercentur Atridæ; ut pessùm eant, & opprimantur maximè, qui *Quinto illorum lateri* gladios suos intorquere essent peritissimi; clypeosque

suos eorum ictibus fortissimè opponerent. Pessimè de Christianâ religione meruit Nero, qui junioribus disciplinam interdixit & literas; ut ignorantiæ tenebris & fuligine obvoluti, in barbariem remensa vestigia citiùs præcipitarent: sic Mytilenses olim, sociis qui defecerant, ut suppliciorum gravissimum, imposuerunt, in inscitiâ artium liberalium vitam transigere. O quàm fluctuat Ecclesia! quàm vacillat respublica! sine literarum fulcro, & stabilimento. In quantam errorum voraginem immerguntur, quibus doctrinæ fundamina desiderantur? Ipsa sacra pagina, fons est; sed (*c*) *fons Haran*, grandi scilicet lapide clausus, qui nisi devolvatur, non adaquabit greges. Liber est quidem Scriptura, imò ὁ βίβλος, sed obsignatus, sine linguarum, artium, antiquitatum peritiâ. Philosophiam perstringit Apostolus, *Colos.* 2. 8. sed *vanam*, sed Epicuream; quæ tollit providentiam, & in deorum numerum refert voluptatem; aliter, ad Christum παρασπάζει ἡ φιλοσοφία. Efflat scientia, sed non vera (ut idem Cle. Alex.) ἀλλ' ἡ δοκοῦσα, quæ videtur tantùm: quæ cerebro solùm supernatans, ut illa Gnosticorum, ad cor corrigendum nunquam descenderit. Procul à me absit, sic in Theologo eruditionem extollere, quasi eodem conatu pietatem deprimere libeat, sine quâ in doctrinâ, frustrà quærimus doctrinam: nam *timor Domini est principium scientiæ*; & ubi vera, & superna sapientia exar-

Gen. 29. 2, 3.

serit,

ſerit, haud aliter à cultu Cœleſti, & ſanctitate divelli queat, quàm à ſe invicem Hippocratis Gemelli. *Neque religio ulla ſine ſapientià ſuſcipienda; nec ulla ſine religione probanda ſapientia.* Cum doctis igitur revertimini in gratiam; & quanquam mihi indigno quaſi fraterculo, non ſine magno meo damno, infenſi fueritis, nullam vobis intendo litem: nullam peto vindictam: imò, vos valere jubeo; ſi candore veſtro, humilitate & charitate freti, gaudeant alii: ſi eccleſiæ jam Anhelanti ſitis Refrigerio; ſi laboranti ſuccurratis, & tot veluti Junones Lucinæ, obſtetricantes, feratis opem: nam de Arcâ nutante actum erit: de legitimis Evangelii miniſtris conclamatum; ſi eo, quo cœpiſtis, pergatis pede; ſi pro furfure, & fæce Romuli habeantur; ſi pro quiſquiliis, & ſale inſulſo projiciantur foras, qui ſunt in agro dominico puriores ſegetes; in domo Dei Columnæ, ſtellæq; in dextrâ ejus fulgentes: præſertim, ſi blatterones, tyrunculi, νεόφυτοι, ἑτεροδιδάσκοντες, & quilibet præcoces adoleſcentuli ſub ſigillo veſtro & inſignibus tam audacter militent, qui eccleſiæ gubernacula tractare minimè noverint. Hæc enim que ſequuntur, tot ſunt veluti elementa Theologos veſtros conſtituentia: *Habiles & idonei concionatores* facilè per vos renuntiantur: modò ſint inordinati: imberbes juvenes: mediocriter docti: optimè veſtiti.

1. *Inordinati:* ordinum Eccleſiaſticorum

 expertes:

expertes: sacerdotes sine sacerdotio: dispensatores sine clavibus: neq; ἀφωρισμένοι; neq; ἀπεσταλμένοι quos neq; Timotheus aliquis initiavit, nec πρεσβυτήριον aliquod consecravit. His inquam libentissimè manus apponitis suffragantes, & approbatorias; qui manuum impositionem nunquam subiêre; in eorumque gremium, album adjicitis calculum, qui in mystarum Albo nunquam fuere adscripti. Hinc rauco picarum murmure, hoc est, mechanicorum concionibus inconcinnis, ubique crepant Templa; strident rostra: conculcantur Sacramenta, & Altaria fumant contra Altaria. O belli judices! Hæccine in publicum benevolentia? sic Cœlum terrâ miscere gestitis? sic contentiosi pulveris nubem pedibus vestris excitare? sic Hæreticorum (tot veluti serpentum) spumam: tot errorum zizania in Areâ dominicâ dispersisse libuit? Hæc enim fecistis omnia; dum talia facientes in sinu fovetis: dum in deliciis habetis maximè, & in ipso Templi pinnaculo collocatis, quos horum omnium canales fuisse & scaturiginem, experti lugemus. Non vos latet, haud malè conjectari aliquos, Originem illum Alexandrinum, tot portentosis scatuisse erroribus, & quia juvenis docuit, & absq; patrum χειροθησία. Malè igitur per vos respuuntur: malè à tabernaculo arcentur, quos patres nostri, hoc est, præsules venerandi semel tetigere; quasi leprâ nos affecissent, dum manus imponerent; aut carmine quodam fascinassent,

cùm

cùm more ſuo vere paterno, nobis benedicerent.

2. *Imberbes juvenes*; qui implumes adhuc, è nido ſuo, & nutricum brachiis nuper elapſi ſunt; qui perdicum inſtar, ovorum tegumentis circumveſtiti, vobis accurrunt; & mentorum primitias, hoc eſt, lanuginem ſuam vobis offerunt. His aures utraſq; & ulnas expanditis, qui ex Ephebis nedum exceſſerunt: qui genas molles & delicatulas vobis oſtentant. Adeo παιδερασταὶ eſtis; balbutientes, & dimidiata verba tentantes, amplexuri. Barba ſanè nunquam fecit Theologum; ſed jam nocet plurimùm. Reveranda Canities, cui aſſurgunt *Gentes*, vobis opprobrio: in ea prolapſi ſumus tempora, de quibus conqueſtus eſt propheta: *rationem ſacerdotum non habent, ſenibus non faciunt gratiam*; Hoc olim grande nefas, & morte piandum. Quomodò canales eſſe poterint, qui conchæ ne unquam fuerint? Sed ſubtilitatem veſtram, & myſterium, ad quod collimatis, (adeò diaphanum eſt) facilè perſpexerim: nam Eccleſiam novam eſtis fundaturi; abjiciendæ igitur trabes antiquæ, & putridæ; ſeniores ſcilicet, & qui *prioris Templi gloriam* intuebantur. Vimina, & ſurculi ædificio veſtro optimè inſervient, hoc eſt, adoleſcentes qui ut raſa tabula, ad dictata veſtra ſuſcipienda, & in verba veſtra jurare, erunt paratiores; lubrica enim eorum ingenia: Olim igitur Catalina in partes ſuas juniores pertraxit: plaudite igitur, vos felices fungi,

ἀνδρί-

ἀωδήμεον σοφοὶ! heri profani, hodiè sacrorum antistites; nam tales habendi sunt concionatores, quales habuit Rehoboam consiliarios.

3. *Mediocriter docti:* Doctores sine doctrinâ: Theologi sine libris; nisi quos in lucem vosmet edidistis: lectores modesti; qui *abeuntes retrorsum, operuerunt facies suas*, ne orientis, vel occidentis ecclesiæ patres, pudibundi aspicerent:—frange leves calamos, & scinde Thalia libellos. Hoc modo, testæ recentes erunt, fide catholicâ (sanctis semel traditâ) nondum imbuti; nec *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus, cognoscentes:* eò magis odorum, quos immissuri estis, tenaciores: & in dogmata vestra, manibus, pedibusq; festinabunt velociùs. Sic pictor Praxiteles *loco Veneris, adulteræ suæ imaginem adorandam proposuit.* Sic fœtus maximè viriles, in partu ipso, ab obstetricibus Pharaonicis strangulari jubentur.

4. *Optimè* vestiti: exuviis undiq; conductis fulgentes, χρυσοδάκτυλοι, Calamistris & cincinnis ornati: pulvere nescio quo exotico, & suffitibus delibuti—ut matutino sudans Crispinus amomo: histrionum instar Atticorum holobyssini: Hi *pallio* vestro inaugurantur: & sine morâ salutantur belli curatores *omnium animarum:* quasi sancti esse nequeamus, nisi sericati: nec Theologi in Ecclesiâ ferendi, nisi ut causidicos, sic nos etiam—purpura vendat, &—fulserit annulus ingens. Ignoscite quæso, si vos imitari hâc ex parte nequeamus:

nec

nec deſpectui habeatis, quibus non licuit eſſe tam divitibus: nec intumeſcatis nimium, turgidè incedentes, ut oculos noſtros perſtringatis: Hezekiæ (boni quidem regis, ſed circa veſtiaria ſua miſerè labentis) recordamini. Hoc ipſo, ab Ambroſio, in clerum quidam non erat receptus, quod geſtus ejus plurimum dedeceret. Miranda quoq; Lacedæmoniorum civitas, ἡ μόναις ταῖς ἑταίραις ἀνθίνας ἐνδῆτος καὶ χρυσῆν κόσμον ἐπέτρεψε φορεῖν, ἀφαιρυμένη τῶν δοκίμων γυναίκων τὴν φιλοκοσμίαν.

Sic penecillo ſatis obtuſo, coloribus tamen ſuis, Theologum veſtrum delineaverim: Gorgona hanc in quam adeo deperitis, iterum aſpicite: umbra eſt, & præterea nihil. Sed jam intumeſcere videmini; jam circa corda veſtra ſanguis ebullire occipit, quaſi ipſe ſcandali Magnatum reus peragar: At inter minas veſtras, & ſtigmata, ſolo conſcientiæ ſatellitio ſtipatus, mihimet erectus plaudo: nam ſicut à (*d*) Nerone; ſic à vobis condemnari, *non eſt infame*: Adhuc igitur Deo, Eccleſiæ, imò vobis ad aras uſque—dum ſpiritus hos regit artus, ſeipſum animitùs conſecrat, & devovet

(d) οὐκ ἂν εἰμὶ ἀγαθὸν μέγα, ὑπὸ Νερῶνος καταγνωσθῆναι.

*Oratio*

## *Oratio pro ſtatu Eccleſiæ fluctuantis, quæ ex quavis regione periclitatur.*

O Æterne Deus! pater luminum! qui illuminas omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum; cujus ſolius lumine videmus lumen. Lumen rationis quâ homines ſumus conſtituti, tuum eſt: lumen gratiæ, quâ pluſquam homines; & lumen gloriæ, quâ angelis ipſis erimus ſimillimi. Quanquam ipſe habitas lucem inacceſſibilem, quæ oculos noſtros caligantes (dum hac corporis mole ſumus circundati) penitus perſtingit: Quanquam te coram videre, facieq; ad faciem (ne moriamur) miſellis homuncionibus non contingit; ne tamen tenebris propriis abrepti, in hâc valle, & umbra mortis, deſerto ſcilicet vitæ hujus, palabundi erremus; ipſe nobis laborantibus, alteram ignis columnam propitius prætendiſti: nec tantum ſpiritûs tui radiis, quaſi lampade accensâ, cordium penetralia perfundis, vultuſq; tui lumine lætificas; ſed verbum tuum pedibus noſtris lucernam indulciſti; & luminaria, in hoc firmamento,

mento, & candelabro Eccleſiæ hujus inferioris, verbi miniſtros collocâſti. Hos tanquam ſtellas, intra ſphæras ſuas lucere juſſos, ipſe in brachii tui concavo tenes abſconditos; dextramq; tuam expertos protectricem, foves & confirmas. Hinc in medio nationis pravæ, & perverſæ, adhuc perſtitimus ſuperſtites; adhuc ſepulchra, foveaſq; evaſimus, quas nobis toties ſtruxerunt homines maleferiati, & pluſquam ferales, qui lucem oderunt, quia opera eorum mala fuere: huc uſque, divino fretis auxilio, cuniculos ſuos, & ſtratagemata, fruſtrà tentarunt, & tui, & noſtri hoſtes, infenſi ſimul, & conſpirati; nec Romæ, nec inferni (te vindice, clypeoque noſtro portæ, adverſus nos prævaluerunt. Pergas quæſumus, benigniſſime Deus! clerum tuum, legatos, præconéſq; obumbrare, & ſacerdotes tuos induere ſalute. Hoc ipſum, hoc ipſo præſertim tempore, omnibus animarum nervis, ad ſuſpiria uſq, gemebundi exoramus: nam fremunt populi, frendunt Dæmones, irruunt venti in domum tuam: trabes, columnæ, anguli crepant, & contremiſcunt cuſtodes ejus. Ipſæ Abyſſi, & cataractæ cœli aperiuntur: torrentes evomit draco: tantùm non immergitur, & obſorbetur Eccleſiæ navis. Non ſolum grex ipſe pervicax & rebellis, cœco impetu inſurgit adverſus paſtores & ductores ſuos: horumq; oculos erueret, qui eorum paci & ſaluti proſpiciunt, & evigilant; ſed paſtorum titulo quidam geſtientes, paſtores quoq;

laniant

laniant & obtruncant. Hi faſtu ſuo, levitate, vel ſtudio partium, in altum ſublati, ad pedes ſuos humillimè provolutos indignè conculcant. Multis (quos ipſe legâſti) in vineam, & Arenam Eccleſiaſticam intraturis, oſtium præcludunt: plures avertunt, & exanimant, in ipſo partu ſuffocantes. Ipſe nos clamare juſſeris, & inſtar tubæ voces attollere: At at iſti obturant ora, & ſilentio obruunt; ite, inquis tu, & prædicate: Hi contrà euntes inhibent, & minaces intonant; Væ vobis, ſi Evangelizetis. Sic talenta tua, & Chariſmata, quæ nobis donaſti, quæque aliis impendere eramus parati, abſconduntur in terrâ (non nobis Domine! non nobis hoc imputetur!) & ſub modio quaſi torpeſcunt: noſq; ipſi ſub umbrâ, & in angulis deliteſcimus; quoniam æſtum, & pondus diei ſuſtentare non licuit. Arcemur ab Arcâ nutante, ſuppetias etiam allaturi; & ab areâ Domini (quantum in illis) exulamur, quanquam in eâ tot ubiq; pullulant zizania; & impoſtoribus plena ſunt omnia: rugiunt leones, ululant lupi, obrepunt vulpes, ſaltant ſatyri, & ſtrident bubones: nos tamen excludimur, ut æmulentur ipſi, ſolique in terrâ dominentur. Exurgat Deus! & diſſipentur quotquot invident Sioni! quotquot Tyrannorum inſtar graſſantur in Eccleſiam, prædæ & velleri ſolummodò inhiantes, ut cum *Zebedæi* filiis, & ſuperbientibus diſcipulis ditiores, magnates & proceres evaſerint: diſſipentur etiam, qui

ſub

ſub ſpecie ædificandi, devaſtant templum Altiſſimi. Faxit Dominus, ut nunquam conteratur & labefactetur religio ab ipsâ religione! hoc eſt, praxis ejus ſincera, & infucata; ab inani, jejunâ, ſpumosâ, & jactabundâ profeſſione. Quantum ad nos diſpenſatores, & legatos tuos; hoc ſolum habemus reſidui, ut oculos noſtros dirigamus ad te; ut fiduciam noſtram in te, qui es mons æternitatis, omninò reponamus; & hoc ſolatio, inter minas, & vulnera, exultamus maximè; quòd Deus noſter, quem ſpiritu noſtro colimus, cui pro viribus ſervimus, poteſt eripere nos de camino ignis, & de manibus inimicorum liberare. Ipſe potis es Domine, & ipſe ſolus, ſquallorem noſtrum excutere, lacrymas abſtergere, genua titubantia & collidentia confirmare, ſtolas noſtras ſepulchrales ſolvere, & exuere: de Bochim & Calvariâ, in montem Ararat & Tabor poſſis transferre; ut coronis redimiti, & veſtimentis laudum amicti, tandem redivivi plaudamus, & hiſce oculis, Sionem quietam, & eccleſiam videamus *Aciem ordinatam*, quâ doctores, & docti; paſtores, & populi, tanquam agmen quadratum, viis ſuis, & ordinibus incedant unanimes. Utcunque ſtatutum eſt; licet ut ſal infatuatus, aut ut ſquiſquiliæ in ſterquilinium projiciamur; tibi chari ſimus Pater omnipotens! & in deliciis habiti, etiam in ſtercore. Bene erit torrentibus in flamma, ſi nobiſcum perambulet Chriſtus: bene erit, ſi

in

in cineres etiam redigamur, dummodò ex cineribus noſtris, ex ruinis, & exuviis, prodeant & oriantur homines, qui evangelium magis adornent, qui pietatem, gloriamque tuam propagent melius, & promoveant, per famam bonam, per infamiam; per vitam, per mortem tranſire, in votis eſt; ſi in terris floreat gens ſancta, & regale ſacerdotium: ipſique in *Hieruſalem* ſupernam, & Eccleſiam primogenitorum, hoc curru igneo, & turbine, quaſi triumphantes, provehamur; & ita cum Chriſto ſimus in æternum, qui eſt vita vitarum, & ſpiritus ſpirituum: quo potiti; valeant honores! valeant promotiones omnes mundanæ! quem cognoſcentes ut cogniti ſumus, nec fide, nec prædicantibus opus erit, niſi qui laudes agni, & ſedentis ſuper thronum, cum tubarum clangore extollant. Cui trino & uni Deo, hic etiam in terris, ſit laus, & gloria, in ſecula ſeculorum, *Amen.*

FINIS.